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## IN THIS ISSUE



SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

**A** hundred and twenty-five years after Wilford Woodruff, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, issued the 1890 Manifesto that sounded the death knell for the Mormon practice of polygamy, Utah's peculiar institution remains one of the most intensively studied subjects in Utah history. Our first article, given as the plenary address at the 2004 Utah State Historical Society Annual Meeting, offers a careful and relevant overview of the recent study of Mormon polygamy and highlights the insights that the new scholarship offers in furthering our understanding of Utah's earlier polygamy experience.

Another popular subject for Utah, Mormon, and Western historians is the epic story of the Mormon Battalion. In the summer of 1846, with the urging of Brigham Young, five hundred forty-three men enlisted for service with the United States Army during the Mexican War. Accompanied by thirty-four women and forty-four children, the men departed Council Bluffs, Iowa, for Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on July 20, 1846. Six months later, in late January 1847, the main group arrived at San Diego, California. However, not all those who left Council Bluffs completed the journey. Most of the women and children and 159 men were ordered to spend the winter of 1846-47 in Pueblo, located in present-day southeastern Colorado, before rejoining the main body of Mormon pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley



in July 1847. Our second article examines the Mormon Battalion experience and its aftermath for four young soldiers, three of whom were related and all of whom were among the 159 men who were dispatched to Pueblo. Their stories, common in some aspects, but highly different in others, remind us that epic events are made up of the varied experiences of individuals and that their lives offer a rich source for understanding the human experience.

A third popular subject in Utah history is the exploration and settlement of Utah and surrounding territories. Using the diary of one explorer and a report submitted to Brigham Young by three others, our third article recounts the 1861 exploration of the Uinta Basin by two different but simultaneous companies—one from Salt Lake City and another from Provo. Utilizing the information provided by the exploring parties, Brigham Young called off a planned colonization effort to the area and supported much of the area's designation later in 1861 by President Abraham Lincoln as the Uintah Indian Reservation.

Our final article returns to the topic of social history as it examines the founding and development of the Utah Training School in American Fork for the care and treatment of the young mentally retarded. This study of the development of the institution, the evolving practices and treatments, the professionals responsible for administering programs, and the residents and their families who benefited from the state-provided services, brings to light a too often overlooked, but nevertheless important part of the Utah story.

Even with the four varied and interesting offerings in our summer issue, we hope that your summer weeks allow even more time for reading. Certainly the book review section—covering recent books on rock art, the gold rush, the Episcopal church in Utah, the career of a prominent Western historian, the experiences of a Utahn held prisoner of war by the Japanese during World War II, the story of the distinguished career of a Salt Lake City-born son of Italian immigrant parents, and a collection of lectures by ten notable scholars—holds new and exciting possibilities for your reading pleasure.

**ON THE COVER:** *In this 1918 photograph, the Kenyon Hotel Autobus prepares to depart the Denver and Rio Grande Depot with its car load of passengers.* SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

**OPPOSITE:** *This February 1912 photograph of the center façade and north wing shows the Denver and Rio Grande Depot less than two years after its construction in 1910. The Depot was renovated as the new home of the Utah State Historical Society in 1980. Twenty-five years later, another major renovation has provided a joint reading room for the Historical Society and State Archives on the south end of the main lobby and new offices for the administration and history staff on the second floor of the north wing.* SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



WIDTSON COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## That “Same Old Question of Polygamy and Polygamous Living:” Some Recent Findings Regarding Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Mormon Polygamy

By B. CARMON HARDY

One hundred years ago, in 1904, Utah and its Mormon population once again became the object of renewed national attention. Newspaper editors, pamphleteers and outraged clergymen across the country charged that Utah was breaking promises made to the nation when statehood was granted less than a decade earlier. Allegations of continued polygamy after the Manifesto of 1890 led Congress to deny B.H. Roberts his seat in the House of Representatives in 1900.<sup>1</sup> In the words of one writer at that time, the Mormon church had “buncoed” the nation

*Joseph F. Smith, president of the LDS church shown here with his wives and children.*

B. Carmon Hardy is Professor Emeritus of History, California State University at Fullerton. This address was given on September 23, 2004, at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the Utah State Historical Society held in the Salt Lake City Public Library.

<sup>1</sup> “Special Committee on the Case of Brigham H. Roberts, *Case of Brigham H. Roberts of Utah*,” House Report 85, 2 pts. (56-1) 1900, Serial 4021.

by reneging on its agreement to bring all plurality to an end.<sup>2</sup> Then, in 1904, with the Roberts case yet fresh in their memory, a similar controversy arose concerning Utah's recently elected Senator Reed Smoot.

Charges of "new polygamy" were heard on all sides. Proposals for a constitutional amendment that would outlaw polygamy everywhere and establish monogamy as the nation's only approved form of marriage acquired widespread support. Democrats, yet remembering how Republicans had, a half century earlier, stolen a march on them with the "twin relics" plank now rushed to include in their 1904 platform a call to expunge polygamy forever from American life.<sup>3</sup> All that had been laid at Mormonism's door since the 1850s, especially its attachment to the "barbarous," "Asiatic" practice of polygamy, was given voice with renewed energy. And the plea raised during the 1880s by Mormons that, inasmuch as monogamy and polygamy existed together in the Bible, democratic, Bible-believing America should grant them an equal measure of tolerance, received no more consideration during Smoot's ordeal than when first made twenty years earlier.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the three-year long hearings, it was the Mormon church more than Reed Smoot that was on trial. Smoot himself was convincingly shown to be a monogamist. But had Mormonism or had it not set aside the practice of plurality?<sup>5</sup> Seeking to answer that question in the affirmative and thereby secure the trust of the American people, church leaders set themselves on a course of retrenchment that by the time of World War I, and certainly with the death of President Joseph F. Smith in 1918, largely ended the long career of approved plural marriages in the church, both public and covert.

This reformation was dramatic both for the speed with which it occurred and the degree to which it affected the church's view of its own historical past. By the mid-twentieth century, the official church had become a warrior for the monogamous ethic and an unyielding enemy of any seeking to revive the plural marital practices of their Mormon forbearers. More than this, a cloak of silence fell on what B.H. Roberts, in a moment of impatience with its persistent return, called that "same old question of polygamy and polygamous living."<sup>6</sup> While formal discussion of polygamy did not entirely disappear, inattention to it, especially in church

<sup>2</sup> A. Theodore Schroeder, "Polygamy in Congress," *Arena* 23 (February 1900): 115.

<sup>3</sup> Donald Bruce Johnson and Kirk H. Porter, comps., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1972* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 133.

<sup>4</sup> Charles W. Penrose, "Monogamy and the Home," *Deseret Evening News*, December 5, 1885, 2.

<sup>5</sup> The hearings can be read in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 59th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 486, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1906).

<sup>6</sup> This when describing the magazine crusade against Mormon polygamy in the second decade of the twentieth century. Brigham H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6: 413.



**Stanley Snow Ivins, author and early historian who researched the issue of Mormon polygamy.**

publications, sermons and teachings, is striking. This undoubtedly arose from what Gary Topping recently described as a need “to present a positive image of Mormon history that would show Mormonism as an inherently American phenomenon.”<sup>7</sup> When the subject was addressed, plural marriage was generally characterized, in formal discourse, as a relatively insignificant part of the church’s past. No more than 1 to 5 percent of church members, it was said, ever practiced polygamy. Most followed the lead provided by James Talmage who said that plural marriage was never an “essential” but only an “incident” in Mormon history and life.<sup>8</sup> The shadowed status of the topic was not confined to church members and their leaders. Non-Mormon writers and historians, with few exceptions, seldom gave the subject more than a brief review.

Inasmuch as the Mormon experience with plurality, in terms of the numbers of those involved between 1840 and 1910, undoubtedly amounted to some tens of thousands of people, it could well constitute, excepting only religiously prescribed celibacy, the largest departure from traditional, western monogamous marriage in Euro-American history since the Renaissance. What a treasury of religious and human drama it surely contains!

Currently, work on the history of this fascinating social experiment is undergoing an exciting revival. To be sure, it is not entirely sudden nor without precedent. There were, for example, works like those of Fawn Brodie, Kimball Young and Stanley Ivins in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>9</sup> But books and articles addressing the subject have come on in flood-like proportions since the early 1980s and into the present. Some of this is undoubtedly owing to the burst of Mormon historical scholarship that occurred generally during these same years. A vital part of this reenergized activity is due to the helpful, welcoming spirit displayed in recent years by

<sup>7</sup> Gary Topping, *Utah Historians and the Reconstruction of Western History* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 21.

<sup>8</sup> James Edward Talmage, *Story of “Mormonism” and the Philosophy of “Mormonism”* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), 89.

<sup>9</sup> Fawn McKay Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 297–308, 344–47; Kimball Young, *Isn’t One Wife Enough?* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954); and Stanley Snow Ivins, “Notes on Mormon Polygamy,” *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 229–39.



stewards of the church's archives. In league with collections such as those held by the Utah State Historical Society and others, work on the topic is rapidly going forward.

One of the things that is happening throughout the historical profession generally is the application over the last twenty or so years of methodologies used by social scientists in other fields. And none of these approaches have provided more interesting results than simple counting or the application of quantitative inquiry into the Mormon polygamous past. Larry Logue and Ben Bennion, following the lead provided by people such as Dean May, James E. Smith and Phillip R. Kunz, by reconstituting families and bringing the tools of demography to bear, have shown that in the Utah period the number who lived in plural households was considerably larger than previously believed. During the 1880s, Mormon representatives in testimony before Congress stated that no more than 1 or 2 percent of the church's membership was polygamous.<sup>10</sup> Church authorities in their sermons, missionaries abroad, and guides on Temple Square almost to the present time have repeated these figures. We now know, owing to work by Logue, Bennion and others, that the actual number, depending on the years and location, likely averaged between 15 and 30 percent.<sup>11</sup> To be sure, in some



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**George Q. Cannon, center, member of LDS Church First Presidency, visits with Arthur Pratt Jr., (left) son of Utah Territorial Prison Warden Arthur Pratt, prison guards C. H. Wilken, 2nd left and F. G. Hudson seated 2nd right. E. M. Genney standing, attorney Franklin S. Richards, seated 1st right. Photograph taken September 1888 while Cannon was incarcerated for unlawful cohabitation.**

<sup>10</sup> Franklin S. Richards, *Admission of Utah. Arguments in Favor of the Admission of Utah as a State...Made before the Committee on Territories of the United States Senate, First Session Fiftieth Congress, Saturday, February 18, 1888* (Wash. D.C.: GPO, 1888), 6-7.

<sup>11</sup> Larry Logue, "A Time of Marriage: Monogamy and Polygamy in a Utah Town," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 9-13; the same author's *Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 44-71; and all of Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: Dixie versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27-42. Other studies arriving at similar percentages include the early inquiry of Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," 230-32; Dean L. May, "People on the Mormon Frontier: Kanab's Families of 1874," *Journal of Family History* 1 (1976): 172; James E. Smith and Phillip R. Kunz, "Polygyny and Fertility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Population Studies* 30 (November 1976): 468-71; and Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 100-101.



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**Heber C. Kimball (1801-1868)**  
**boasted that polygamous marriages increased the number of children men could have.**

**Kimball's families consisted of 43 wives, 65 children, and 300 grandchildren.**

areas the percentage of practitioners was smaller. But, conversely, in other communities, it was considerably larger.

While both Logue and Bennion emphasized that their findings were greater than traditional church estimates and that polygamy played a more significant role in Mormon society than previously believed, one might still question the importance of the practice since, on average, no more than between a sixth and a third of the church's membership lived in plural households. In other words, couldn't one say that inasmuch as a majority remained monogamous, polygamy must have been relatively unimportant? This would seem to be reinforced by Professor Kathryn Daynes who found that, in the community of Manti after 1860 the percentage of those living in polygamy steadily declined from 43.1 percent in that year to 7.1 percent in 1900.<sup>12</sup> Even with the larger numbers now accepted as constituting the polygamous sector of the nineteenth-century

church, the fact that it yet remained not only a minority but also a dwindling minority naturally leads us to ask if these declining numbers mean that without federal coercion plural marriage would have eventually died anyway? Not surprisingly, some have concluded that if left to itself Mormonism would have given up the practice voluntarily.<sup>13</sup>

There is also the question of how to weigh polygamy when writing Mormon history. Inasmuch as a strong majority of Mormons in the nineteenth century were not polygamous and since a near unanimous majority of church members today do not practice polygamy, can we say that James Talmage was correct, that polygamy was but an "incident" and not an "essential" in the Mormon story? Such a configuration also then leaves the famous 1890 Manifesto as less a turning point in the Latter-day Saint past than it has usually been assumed to be. By crediting the "pew" as deserving a more defining role than the "pulpit," to use Grant Underwood's aptly chosen language, Mormonism presents us with a more constant and less aberrant historical course than many have assumed it had.<sup>14</sup>

My own response in this matter is that the posture and preachment of

<sup>12</sup> Daynes, *More Wives than One*, 101, table 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," 239; and Klaus Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 176.

<sup>14</sup> Grant Underwood's insightful article on this issue is: "Re-visioning Mormon History," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (August 1986): 403-26.

the leadership of the church, and especially that of a church so emphatically hierarchical as Mormonism, was and remains preeminently important. The urgings and teachings of the leaders must, in my view, always be reckoned as central to what the church is about. For this reason I remain impressed by the fact that insistence by church authorities on the importance of polygamy up to and beyond the time of the 1890 Manifesto was uncompromising and did not decline. Church spokesmen and spokeswomen through these years were steadfast in contending that plural marriage was required if one wished the highest blessings of heaven in the hereafter. While there are many examples of this, none, perhaps, better illustrate the continuing priority attached to the Principle than the public statement in 1875 by Daniel H. Wells, a member of the church's First Presidency, that anyone failing to live in plural marriage "would be under condemnation, and would be *clipped in their glory* in the world to come."<sup>15</sup> Church leaders were immovable in their commitment to plurality and remained overwhelmingly polygamous themselves until the turn of the century.<sup>16</sup> George Q. Cannon said in 1884 he could not lift his hand to sustain anyone in a position of authority in the church who "had not entered into the Patriarchal order of marriage."<sup>17</sup>

If, on average, only a third or less of the members lived in polygamous homes in those years, it was a circumstance not unlike today where those who are full tithe payers or regular temple goers probably constitute a minority of the church's full membership. Those who are most faithful in all churches are commonly an elite, a fraction of the larger body of adherents. But they also commonly play a defining role in terms of standards, expectations and policy. While we clearly need greater understanding of the



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**Lion House, 63 East South Temple, built between 1854-1856, to house Brigham Young's large family, later used for LDS Church administrative offices, classrooms and dormitory of LDS University**

<sup>15</sup> "The Reynolds Trial," *Deseret News* [Weekly], December 15, 1875, 732.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, D. Gene Pace, "Wives of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Bishops: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of the West* 21 (April 1982): 49-57.

<sup>17</sup> As quoted in A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1980), 2: 629, April 26, 1884.

dynamics at work between the broad membership of the church and their leaders, at this point I am unconvinced that declining numbers of polygamists meant that the Principle was on its death bed and would have become entirely moribund if left alone—as indeed it did not as evidenced by the number of approved post-Manifesto marriages and the even larger number of unapproved fundamentalist unions occurring yet today.

Another topic now receiving attention concerns the number of children produced in polygamous homes. One of the reasons given for entering such marriages was that it would increase births, thereby augmenting one's power and glory. It would also build up the Kingdom of God on earth more quickly. Heber C. Kimball once boasted that in seven years he would have enough offspring to make a city. And in twenty-five years, he said, he and Brigham Young together would have more descendants than then existed in the entire territory: that is, in 1857 when he made the remark, about seventy-five thousand people.<sup>18</sup>

The difficulty with this is that, from at least as early as the eighteenth century, writers discussing polygamy said that polygamous wives tend to fall behind monogamous wives in the number of children they have.<sup>19</sup> Anthropologists and others writing about non-Mormon polygynous peoples in the twentieth century, confirmed this, finding that, as a generality, plural marriage actually depresses the fertility of additional wives in such homes.<sup>20</sup> This led some to suggest that Mormon patriarchs would have collectively enlarged the kingdom more rapidly had they remained monogamous.<sup>21</sup> For years, based on this information, individuals like myself were quick to correct those who said one of polygamy's accomplishments was that it fostered natural increase among the saints. Rather, we said if numbers of children were what Mormon leaders wanted they should better have told all to marry only in monogamy.

But now, in just the last few years, evidence is emerging that in some communities, specifically St. George and Cedar City, polygamous wives displayed a fertility pattern fully on a par with and in some instances greater than that of their monogamous neighbors.<sup>22</sup> And Professor Daynes, in her

<sup>18</sup> See, respectively: "Discourse by President Heber C. Kimball, April 6, 1857," *Deseret News* [Weekly], April 22, 1857, 52; and "Remarks by Prest. Heber C. Kimball...Feb. 8 1857," *ibid.*, February 25, 1857, 405.

<sup>19</sup> William Paley, *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, 2 vols., ninth ed. rev. (London: R. Faulder, 1785), 1: 320-21.

<sup>20</sup> H.V. Muhsam, "Fertility in Polygamous Marriages," *Population Studies* 10 (July 1956): 3-16; Remi Clignet, *Many Wives, Many Powers: Authority and Power in Polygynous Families* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 28-31; Phillip R. Kunz and James E. Smith, "Polygyny and Fertility: Establishing a Focus," in *Selected Papers in Genealogical Research*, ed. Phillip R. Kunz (Provo, Utah: Institute of Genealogist Studies, 1973), 97-103.

<sup>21</sup> Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," 236-37; and Phillip R. Kunz, "One Wife or Several? A Comparative Study of Late Nineteenth-Century Marriage in Utah," in *The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 10 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 59.

<sup>22</sup> Logue, *Sermon in the Deseret*, 76-80; and, Lowell C. Bennion, "Polygamy's Contribution to 'Utah's Best Crop' in Cedar City, 1860-1880," unpublished paper presented at the Western History Association Conference, Fort Worth, Texas, October, 11 2003.



study of nineteenth-century Manti, shows that because polygamy was encouraged, numbers of marginalized women who would likely never have married at all became polygamous wives and mothers thus further enlarging the census beyond what it otherwise would have been. These findings are preliminary and we will need to await completion of the massive survey that Ben Bennion and Kathryn Daynes are overseeing before drawing final conclusions. But we can say at this point that, if



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Brother Heber and Brother Brigham were excessive in describing their reproductive powers, some of the rest of us were also off the mark and perhaps in error by categorically contending that Mormon polygamy had a depressing effect on the number of children produced by those who lived it.

Research of the last few years is also bringing other things into clearer view. I have been especially interested in arguments adduced by nineteenth-century defenders claiming that plural marriage brought both hygienic and eugenic blessings to participants. As unlikely as it may seem today, we are learning that champions of Mormon plural wifery promised those who entered the order and lived it as they were told that they would have better health, would live longer and would produce healthier, more intelligent children than those in monogamy. While historians have sometimes referred to these claims, until recently they have never been given more than cursory attention. We now know that such promises were of enormous significance in the minds of nineteenth-century believers in the polygamous way. George Q. Cannon once said that the physiological advantages brought by polygamy constituted the most important argument in its favor.<sup>23</sup>

Drawing on popular theories of the time such as acquired characteristics and the importance of spermatic continence, church leaders said that if sexual intercourse was employed only for reproductive purposes and if male and female partners could purge themselves of sensuous motivations both they and their offspring would be healthier and more long lived. It was the

<sup>23</sup> George Q. Cannon, Oct. 9, 1869, *Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young, President of the Church...and Others...*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: 1855–1886), 13: 206.



**Gottlieb Ence family, Richfield, Utah. Ence Swiss Mormon convert. Back row: Alma James, John Henry, Charles, Walter Heliman, Arthur, Wilford; middle row: Bessie, Elizabeth (wife), Gottlieb, Caroline (wife), Mary; front row: George, William, Joseph Albert, and Lehi.**

presence of lustful desire and accompanying sexual excess, Apostle Orson Hyde said, that accounted for the birth of so many cripples and idiots, “a puny set, a race of helpless, scrubby children.” On the other hand, he said, if men and women would restrain themselves and procreate only with pure and holy intent they would produce a noble, long-lived and god-like race.<sup>24</sup> Because it was believed that nature endowed men with greater sexual capacity than women, they were capable of marrying several wives and, while confining themselves to reproductively purposed sexual relations, yet remain within the bounds prescribed by nature for a healthy and salubrious life. These contentions were a vital part of the justifications employed in behalf of Mormon polygamy.

One enthusiastic supporter asked how anyone could doubt the health-giving effects brought by their system of plurality when, as he put it, “we daily meet boys [on the streets of Salt Lake City, the product] of such unions, weighing 200 pounds and their parents perhaps not over 150.”<sup>25</sup> And Joseph F. Smith, contrasting polygamy and monogamy, said: “Our system of marriage promotes life, purity, innocence, vitality, health, increase and longevity, while...[monogamy] engenders disease, disappointment, misery and premature death...”<sup>26</sup> The amount of writing and preaching devoted to the rapid, physically improving consequences of polygamy, once one begins to look for it, is quite astonishing. And having begun to do so, both articles and lengthy passages in books addressing the matter over the last decade are now available.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Orson Hyde, as reported in Luke William Gallup, *Reminiscences and Diary*, Springville, Utah, February 11, 1857, 193-95, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereinafter cited as LDS Archives.

<sup>25</sup> William R. May, “Mormon Polygamy from a Philosophical Standpoint,” *Deseret News*, February 15, 1881.

<sup>26</sup> “Discourse by President Joseph F. Smith,” *Deseret News*, February 24, 1883.

<sup>27</sup> B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 84-104; idem and Dan Erickson, “Regeneration—Now and Evermore!: Mormon Polygamy and the Physical Rehabilitation of Humankind,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (January 2001): 40-61.

It was, in part, because of such promises that we can better understand the last example of recent findings that I will discuss. This is the surprising extent to which new plural unions were approved and entered into after the Manifesto of 1890. Again, the performance of a few plural marriages after the Woodruff Manifesto had long been admitted. But these were always described as no more than “sporadic”

and as but the work of a few mavericks unwilling to bow to the determination of church leaders to end the practice.<sup>28</sup>

We now know that, in fact, hundreds of new plural unions were performed by church officials and with church approval for twenty or more years after 1890. The polygamous marriages concerned involved bishops, stake presidents and apostles. At least seven members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and possibly President Woodruff himself, took new plural companions after the Manifesto. The evidence for this is overwhelming and, again, is to be read in articles and books published in recent years.<sup>29</sup> The significance of the discovery that so many post-Manifesto plural marriages occurred and were approved resides less in the dissimulation and false statements used to hide them than in the strong indication they provide as to the continued importance of polygamy in the minds of leaders and others at the time. Closely associated with this was the impetus it provided for the rise of contemporary Mormon fundamentalism.

Polygamous stalwarts of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s were keenly aware of nineteenth-century arguments made for plurality: revelatory, scriptural and biological. And given the efforts made to perpetuate polygamy secretly after the 1890 Manifesto, involving as it did hundreds of respected Latter-day Saints, fundamentalists naturally assumed they could do the same. The co-opting influence of leaders at that time is also important, as in the case



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**Lion and Beehive Houses.**

**Beehive House, constructed**

**1854-1856, served as Brigham**

**Young's office, later residency for**

**LDS Church presidents Lorenzo**

**Snow and Joseph F. Smith.**

<sup>28</sup> For discussion and documentation of this view, see Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, “The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 23n.33; and Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 265–66, 389.

<sup>29</sup> D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 9–105; and all of Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*.



**William Jennings Family about 1868. Jane Walker (wife) seated left bore 11 children, Priscilla Paul (wife) seated right had 14 children.**

in the name of Jesus Christ that plural marriage would never be discontinued until the Second Coming of the Savior.<sup>30</sup> However few their number relative to the entire membership of the church, their deep commitment to plurality and their willingness to take risks to keep it alive provided both momentum and precedent on which fundamentalists could build.

There are other findings concerning Mormon polygamy that I have not mentioned that are as interesting as those which I have discussed. Professor Lawrence Foster, for example, has shown that we can more fully comprehend the church's early practice of polygamy by the use of anthropological models dealing with group identity, hierarchical confirmation and ritual.<sup>31</sup> There have been other studies revealing the surprising extent of divorce in plural unions.<sup>32</sup> There are inquiries into the often-exaggerated portrayals used by law enforcement officials, cartoonists and novelists of the late nineteenth century to caricature and destroy Mormon patriarchal marriage.<sup>33</sup> Todd Compton's work on the Nauvoo period has put human faces on the women who entered plural unions with Mormonism's first prophet.<sup>34</sup> Owing to the work of Dr. Leo Lyman we now appreciate the political

<sup>30</sup> Apostle Abraham O. Woodruff, as quoted by conference clerk Joseph Charles Bentley, in *Journal and Notes*, Manuscript Record, November 18-19, 1900, 61, LDS Archives.

<sup>31</sup> Foster was especially skilful with the employment of Victor Turner's concepts of "liminality" and "communitas." Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), 3-18, 123-28, 226-47.

<sup>32</sup> Eugene E. and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 4-23; Kunz, "One Wife or Several?" 68-69; Irwin Altman and Joseph Ginat, *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 469-70; and Daynes, *More Wives than One*, 162-63.

<sup>33</sup> For a few of many studies dealing with journalistic and political exploitation of Mormon sexual practices, see all of Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983); Terry L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Sarah Barringer Gordon's attention to legal humiliations imposed on Mormon plural wives by prosecutors in her, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 164, 166.

<sup>34</sup> Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).



complexities of negotiations surrounding polygamy as they related to the acquisition of statehood for Utah.<sup>35</sup>

The fascinating roles played by women, both for and against polygamy, and Utah's pioneering step in allowing women to enter polling booths are generating large amounts of writing and research.<sup>36</sup> There is the question asked some time ago by Professor Klaus Hansen, yet relevant and debatable, whether polygamy was the primary objective of those involved in the anti-Mormon crusade of the 1870s and 1880s or whether plurality was only a convenient and more flammable issue used to mask the crusaders' greater goal: destruction of the theocratic power of the Mormon priesthood.<sup>37</sup> And one must not overlook the work of people like Martha Sonntag Bradley, Kenneth Driggs, Michael Quinn, and Marianne T. Watson with their contributions to our understanding of the rise and mentalité of polygamous Mormon fundamentalism.<sup>38</sup> Investigation into all these questions is alive and well, attracting so much scholarly activity that those interested in the topic can barely keep abreast of what is being said and written.

When the vote on whether or not Reed Smoot should be permitted to enter Congress came before the United States Senate in 1907, the prospects were not encouraging for the Mormon Apostle turned politician. The investigating committee that conducted hearings into his case for nearly three years recommended against his being given a seat in the senate chamber. Though Smoot was shown not to be a polygamist himself, there was yet strong prejudice in the country, as well as the Congress, that linked Smoot with Mormonism and its polygamous past, believing that though he had only one wife, he belonged to a culture that permitted other men to have many. For a variety of reasons, when the full vote in the Senate was taken, the two-thirds majority required to expel Smoot failed. He was then welcomed as a senator, reelected to the office for thirty years and became one of the most powerful politicians on Capitol Hill.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

<sup>36</sup> Again, as only a few examples, see Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage 1870-1896," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994); both the introduction to and selected essays from Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman's Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997); and Joan Smyth Iverson, *Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880-1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1997).

<sup>37</sup> Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 161-90.

<sup>38</sup> Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped from that Land: the Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993); Kenneth David Driggs, "'This will Someday Be the Head and Not the Tail of the Church': A History of the Mormon Fundamentalists at Short Creek," *Journal of Church and State* 43 (Winter 2001): 49-80; idem, "Twentieth-Century Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons in Southern Utah," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1991): 45-58; D. Michael Quinn, "Plural Marriage and Modern Fundamentalism," *ibid.* 31 (Summer 1998): 1-68; and Marianne T. Watson, "John W. and Lorin C. Woolley: Archangels between Nineteenth-Century Mormon Polygamy and Twentieth-Century Mormon Fundamentalism," unpublished paper presented before the Mormon History Association, Provo, Utah, May 19-23, 2004.

One reason explaining the vote was the liberality of sentiment, often quoted, and apocryphally attributed to Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania who urged that his colleagues accept a polygamist who didn't "polyg" considering they had such tolerance for monogamists among themselves who didn't "monog."<sup>39</sup> Using humor, Senator Penrose appealed to his fellow senators to look at themselves and their colleagues with their contradictions, failings and differences, as reason for justifying a more tolerant view of Reed Smoot. It is chiefly in that spirit that I am heartened by the growing research into Mormon polygamy—both that of the nineteenth century and that of today.

Not only is the shadow that earlier fell across the subject rapidly melting away, but the projects and ideas discussed here, both individually and all together, reveal the extraordinary importance of polygamy in the early church. It *was* a major tenet, central to Mormonism's conceptual image of itself, and one for which large, personal sacrifices were made. But most importantly, by illuminating the expectations and trials of those involved in the church's polygamous passage, we more clearly see how and in what ways they resemble us: their capacity for religious and emotional aspiration; their need for self assurance; their contradictions; their triumphs and their failures. The study of Mormon polygamy shows it to have consisted overwhelmingly of good men and women who partook of common, human sensibilities. And to recognize that, as Senator Penrose seems to have done, makes toleration of and compassion for human differences possible.

<sup>39</sup> The earliest reference I have found to this wonderful anecdote is from a reminiscence by Francis T. Plimpton, reported in the *Readers' Digest* 72 (June 1, 1958): 142. Variations of the statement appear in O.N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune 1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), 229; and Kathleen Flake, *Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 146.



## The Mormon Battalion Experience: Four Soldiers, Four Stories

By EUGENE H. PERKINS and WALDO C. PERKINS

**A**t first thought, the Mormon Battalion was an unlikely historical occurrence. The Mormons were trekking across Iowa, headed somewhere into the West and feeling terribly betrayed by a government that had failed to protect them from mob action in Missouri and Illinois. On the other hand, Stephen Watts Kearny, commanding the Army of the West whose task it was to establish American authority in New Mexico and California in the Mexican War, did not need or particularly want a new battalion of untrained and untested troops. Yet, here in the summer of 1846, President James K. Polk saw some political advantage in authorizing such a military force. As for Mormon leader Brigham Young, the payoff would come in two ways — an infusion of hard cash into his community of saints and an enhanced image for the Mormons in the public eye.

Thus the deal was struck, and some five hundred Mormon men accompanied by thirty-four of their women and forty-four children, departed for Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on July 20 and 22.<sup>1</sup> After two weeks spent

**Panel on the Mormon Battalion  
Monument depicting “The  
Enlistment” of young Mormon  
men into the U. S. Army.**

Eugene H. Perkins, a retired immunologist living in Provo, researched and published extensively as a research scientist at Oak Ridge National Laboratories, Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Waldo C. Perkins, an otolaryngologist, retired in 1989 after twenty-nine years of practice at the Salt Lake Clinic.

<sup>1</sup> Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion, US Army of the West, 1846-1848* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 17. Several basic histories of the Mormon Battalion include Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1847* (Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1969); Frank E. Golder, ed., *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage* (New York: Century, 1928); Paul D. Bailey, *Sam Brannan and the California Mormons* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1953).

outfitting and undergoing rudimentary training at Fort Leavenworth, they began their long and hurried march. Those who lasted the entire distance arrived in San Diego on January 29, 1847. Those who did not, some 159 men and most of the women and children, were detached en route.<sup>2</sup> The sick detachment spent the winter in Pueblo, present-day Colorado, picked up the Overland Trail the following spring, and followed on the heels of the advance party of Mormons entering the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847. There would be fifteen deaths among these sick detachments: six en route to and nine in Pueblo.<sup>3</sup>

The Mormon Battalion saw no military action, and in fact never did catch up to the Army of the West that preceded them. The battalion's march and its impact were significant nevertheless. It achieved both of Brigham Young's larger objectives: to raise much needed money and to move a portion of the Mormon emigrants west. The Mormon Battalion also left its imprint on western history as road builders, gold rush participants, and trailblazers. Quite possibly, however, the battalion's greatest significance lies in that area most frequently overlooked by historians — the manner in which battalion service impacted the lives, values, perceptions, and memories of individual soldiers. This narrative seeks to illustrate that point by focusing on four young men representative of those who answered Polk and Young's call to arms.

Three of the four were related. David Martin Perkins, age twenty-four, and John Calvin Perkins, nineteen, were brothers. James Madison Welch, also nineteen, was a first cousin to the Perkins brothers. Isaac Carpenter, age twenty, was a friend who would marry a Perkins sister and thus become David and John's brother-in-law. The four had grown up together in and around Macedonia, Illinois, about twenty miles southeast of Nauvoo. The two brothers were faithful LDS church members, their cousin was non-Mormon, and the in-law was LDS in name only.

How typical were these four as battalion members? While intensive statistical analyses have yet to be done we do know their ages ranged from fourteen to sixty-eight. Thus, our four soldiers may have been just a little on the young side of median age, though not much. Reflecting this relatively youthful status, all four were unmarried, and this, too, would have deviated from the norm. Since most battalion soldiers were devout church members, having been tested in the fires of persecution and exile, two of our four subjects were quite exceptional. But in most matters pertaining to world-view and values, they were absolutely typical. All were adventure-some, inexperienced in military ways but willing to serve God and country and loyal to each other as well as to the mission at hand.

None of our four subjects completed the March, and in this they were among the minority. But it was a large minority; nearly one third of the bat-

<sup>2</sup> Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.



talion was detached to Pueblo. This high dropout rate reflects carelessness in physical screening of the Mormon recruits. John Calvin Perkins, for example, was simply not healthy enough for military duty. For some of the others the rigors of a march paced too fast for the type and quantity of rations available was too physically demanding.

The battalion with our four volunteers left Fort Leavenworth on August 14 hoping to catch up with Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West in Santa Fe. Illness, particularly malaria and dysentery, slowed the battalion's progress. Accidents with mules and wagons also took their toll. Private William Hyde wrote: "Wednesday, August 26, Buffalo Creek, Kansas 18 miles. As they crossed Bluff Creek, Company C's wagon, carrying sick persons and flour, fell from the bank into the water. Two women and six men nearly drowned, as they couldn't get out from under the wagon for a few minutes. They weren't hurt, only frightened and wet."<sup>4</sup> Although none of the victims were mentioned by name, apparently Isaac Carpenter was either driving the wagon or was one of the sick men riding in the overturned wagon. While observers at that time noted that none was seriously injured, in a later pension deposition Isaac attributed the development of a hernia to this incident and received disability compensation.<sup>5</sup>

On August 29 Lt. Andrew J. Smith, U. S. Army, arrived and assumed command over the protests of many of the battalion men. He was a strict military disciplinarian whose iron fisted rule bordered at times on the cruel and inhumane. The march to Santa Fe would become almost unbearable as Smith was determined to meet the October 10 arrival deadline set by Gen. Kearny. Many of the battalion men, after weeks of hard march, were severely weakened and could not meet Smith's demands. With illnesses and failing health these men were a constant impediment to the march. Furthermore, Smith thought that the women and children severely encumbered travel.

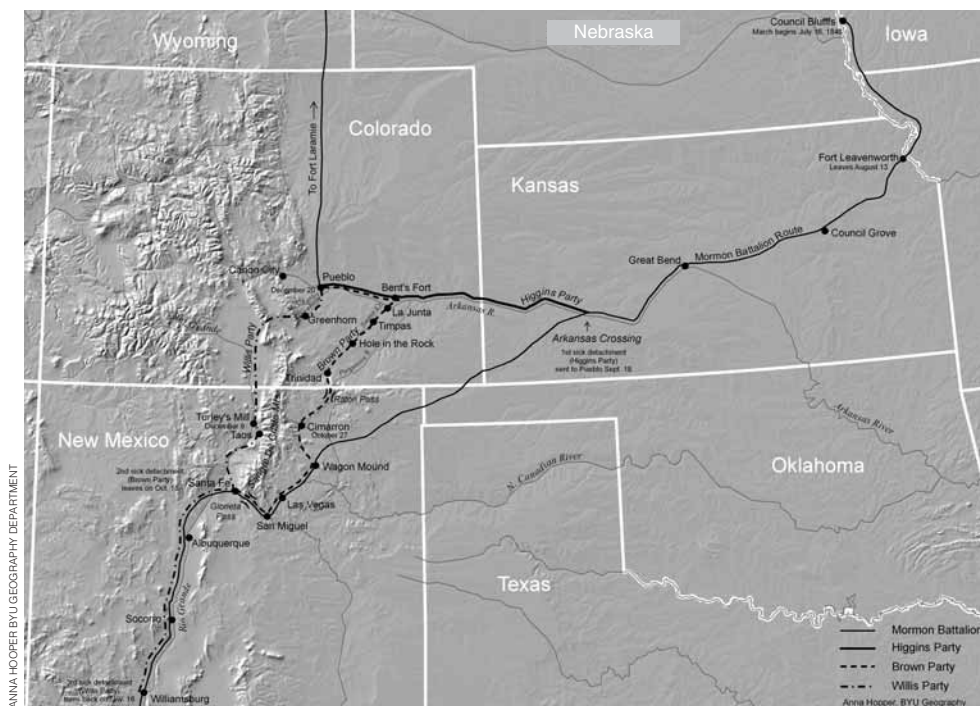


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**Col. Stephen Watts Kearny (1794-1848), commander of the Army of the West in the Mexican War. Mormon Battalion was sent to link up with his troops.**

<sup>4</sup> Private Journal of William Hyde, Brigham Young University, quoted in Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 47.

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Carpenter, Original Pension Application of 1887, Selected Pension Application Files for Members of the Mormon Battalion, Mexican War, 1846-1848, National Archives. Photostatic copy in author's possession.



**Map traces the westward march of 578 Mormon Battalion men, women, and children, and the sick detachments.**

Through a fortuitous circumstance it was decided to detach some of the women and children to Pueblo.<sup>6</sup> Bent's Fort, only a few days journey east of Pueblo, held supplies for the battalion to draw upon, as this was the intended route of their march to Santa Fe.<sup>7</sup> The sick detachment of the Mormon Battalion and their families would later use these supplies when they wintered at Pueblo.

On September 18 a family detachment consisting of a guard of eleven men, nine women and thirty-three children, under the command of Capt. Nelson Higgins, was dispatched to Pueblo, a distance of 385 miles.<sup>8</sup> They

<sup>6</sup> On September 12, the battalion met John Brown who had left fourteen families of Mormons from Monroe County, Mississippi, to winter at Fort Pueblo and was now en-route back to Mississippi.

<sup>7</sup> William and Charles Bent with Ceron St. Vrain built Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River about six miles east of the present town of La Junta, Colorado. The fort was begun in 1833 and completed in 1835, a massive two-story structure built of sun dried adobe bricks. Bent, St. Vrain and Company initially carried on a trade with trappers for beaver skins and small furs and bartered with the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas and Comanches for buffalo robes and hides. They also provided trade and supplies for overland traffic to Santa Fe for nearly twenty years. In 1846, only a much-reduced Indian trade in buffalo hides remained. It still served as an important supply route for the Santa Fe Trail. Gen. Kearny's main column of sixteen hundred men with hundreds of civilian teamsters and twenty thousand head of animals passed by Bent's Fort on their way to Santa Fe the third and fourth week of July. Robert A. Murray, *The Citadel on the Santa Fe Trail*, (Bellevue, Nebraska: The Old Army Press, 1970), 9-11, 27-28.

<sup>8</sup> The settlement of Pueblo was credited to James P. Beckwourth, a mulatto trader, who arrived in May of 1842 and was joined by other independent trappers with their families. "We all united and constructed an adobe fort 60 yards square," Beckwourth wrote. The site was ideal for a winter camp, as there were

arrived early in October where they joined a company of Mississippi saints.

After the family detachment had left for Pueblo, Lt. Smith was now more determined to reach Santa Fe as rapidly as possible. He left the easier Santa Fe Trail and took the Cimarron Cutoff. This was a critical error in judgment, as the battalion would have to cross an unrelenting desert bypassing Bent's Fort where there were much needed supplies. Using the Cimarron Cutoff on into New Mexico, Lt. Smith increased the pace of march, pushing men and animals hard even though many men and beasts were on the brink of exhaustion and had difficulty keeping up. On October 3, Smith ordered fifty of the strongest men from each company to proceed ahead with the best teams and wagons in an attempt to travel the remaining 134 miles and reach Santa Fe on time. This advance group arrived at their destination six days later, completing the 860-mile journey from Fort Leavenworth in fifty-seven days. Much to their surprise and delight they were saluted by rifle fire from the roofs of the adobe houses by Col. Alexander Doniphan, their legal defender from Missouri days. Three days later on October 12, the remaining five companies, consisting of the weaker men and our four volunteers arrived in Santa Fe.

Here lanky, pencil-thin Lt. Col. Phillip St. George Cooke, the new battalion commander, seeing the desperate condition of some of the men and realizing that women and children would greatly encumber progress, sent all of the disabled and sick men and most of the remaining women and children to Pueblo. Among the sick of this detachment were Privates David Martin and John Calvin Perkins and Isaac Carpenter, all of Company C. Private James Madison Welch would continue on with the battalion.

This sick detachment consisting of ninety-two men, nineteen women, and ten children under the command of Capt. James Brown left Santa Fe on October 18, 1846. Many men, because of their feeble condition, had to be hauled in wagons. The poor condition of the teams was such that many of the sick often had to walk. They finally reached the Arkansas River on November 8, seven miles above Bent's Fort. Arriving at the fort, Brown drew supplies for sixty days and the detachment continued west along the Arkansas River.

In this group Isaac Carpenter was one of the better hunters and was often assigned this duty. Nearing Pueblo on November 12, 1846, Andrew Jackson Shupe, another member of Brown's sick detachment, wrote, "In the

good water from the mountains for irrigation, lush grasses for grazing and an ample supply of cottonwood timber and willows. It was more suitable for agriculture with cornfields and green meadows. Supplies were available from Taos. The Mississippi saints erected their cabins on the south side of the Arkansas River a half-mile below the now dilapidated fort with its mountaineers and traders and their Spanish and Indian wives. The family detachment joined the Mississippi saints at this site. Harry Hanson, ed., *Colorado - A Guide to the Highest State*, rev. ed. (New York: Hastings House, 1970), 181; Edward Broadhead, *Fort Pueblo* (Colorado: Pueblo County Historical Society, 1981), 1, 3; LeRoy R. Hafen and Frank M. Young, "The Mormon Settlement of Pueblo, Colorado During the Mexican War", *The Colorado Magazine*, 9 (July 1932): 126.



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***Mormon Battalion Capt. James Brown (1808-1902) led the sick detachment of 121 battalion members and women from Santa Fe to Pueblo October-November 1846. Soon after arriving in Great Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young sent Brown to California to collect mustering out pay of battalion members.***

night Isaac Carpenter killed six fat turkeys. The nights are cold and frosty.”<sup>9</sup> Night hunting of turkeys in late fall was particularly successful during the full moon or when there was sufficient moonlight to silhouette the large birds perched on the limbs of trees that were now bare of foliage.

Arriving at Pueblo on November 17, Shupe records simply, “The Company marched into winter quarters” at Pueblo. There they pitched their tents near the cabins of the Higgins women detachment that previously had been sent from the battalion, and the Mississippi saints already at Pueblo. Shupe continues, “Myself and Isaac Carpenter were left to guard some loose cattle until evening. We were relieved . . . went into camp and drew 17 days rations.”<sup>10</sup>

This detachment had marched the 321 miles from Santa Fe to Bent’s Fort in twenty days, averaging sixteen miles per day. This journey must have been particularly hard on young John Calvin Perkins as his death would occur in just over two months. The men immediately began building cabins and making preparations for winter. On December 3, 1846, Shupe wrote: “This evening James Shupe [Andrew Jackson’s brother], Isaac Carpenter and Becksted (sic) returned from hunting. They had been gone about 3 days and killed one deer.”<sup>11</sup>

After the main body of the battalion had marched another 280 miles south of Santa Fe, Lt. Col. Cooke on November 10 decided to send “those they believed worthless for the march” back to Santa Fe under the command of Lt. William W. Willis.<sup>12</sup> This detachment consisted of fifty-four men, including James Madison Welch and one woman. The poor condition of the men, coupled with reduced rations due to a commissary error, further compromised the return journey turning it into a near death march.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Andrew Jackson Shupe, *Diary Extracts*, November 12, 1846, LDS Historical Department and Archives; hereafter cited as LDS Archives.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, November 17, 1846.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, December 3, 1846.

<sup>12</sup> David L. Bigler, and Will Bagley, eds., *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 174.

<sup>13</sup> Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 79. 240-41. Just two days underway John Green died. The detachment struggled on six more days and during the day of November 18, Elijah Freeman died as did Richard Carter later that night. They were buried side by side four miles from Socorro, New Mexico.



After an exhausting trek the detachment reached Santa Fe on December 1, where post commander Col. Sterling Price ordered Willis to continue three hundred more miles to Pueblo.

This was a very hazardous undertaking considering the feeble condition of the men, the lateness of the season, and the deep snows of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Willis obtained ten mules and packsaddles and on December 4, they started north along the Arroyo Hondo for Taos. They made only a few miles the first day. Richard Brazier, too sick to travel, was left behind and others in their weakened condition stayed with him. On December 7, snow began to fall. Two days later they reached Turley's ranch. There, leaving more of the sick, they began the laborious upward climb to the headwaters of Castillo Creek. After three freezing, exhausting days, through knee to waist deep snow, they reached the summit and pass of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Completely worn out, their spirits were lifted as they looked far down and could see occasional bare ground. They reached the Huerfano River and continued to Greenhorn Creek. Here they ate the last of their rations. The detachment, now with no food, fortunately met a hunting party of battalion men from Pueblo who saved them from starvation. If Isaac Carpenter, a regular and capable hunter, were in this party, James Madison Welch would have been thrilled at this chance meeting. That evening they enjoyed a venison feast. Willis and his emaciated group continued on to the St. Charles River, then the Arkansas River, reaching Pueblo on December 20, where they were warmly greeted.<sup>14</sup>

By late December, all four of the Perkins-related men were in Pueblo. Later in the month, the last mail left for Winter Quarters and Mormon settlements in Iowa. It was very likely the Perkins families received word that their sons David and John were wintering in Pueblo along with Isaac and Madison. It would also have been the last word the family would receive from John as his health was rapidly deteriorating. Days later on January 19, 1847, one diarist recorded the passing of John: "John Perkins, a fine young man died after a lingering illness and was buried the following day."<sup>15</sup> His death, attributed to tuberculosis, was the second of nine men who would die in Pueblo. In this manner, John Calvin Perkins was laid to rest, far from home and family but not entirely alone.<sup>16</sup> The women there comforted and nursed the terminally ill, truly being ministering angels of mercy and also assuming the difficult task of preparing the men for burial. All members of the battalion who died at Pueblo were afforded full military honors, which included a musket volley.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> John F. Yurtinus, "A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1975), 2:274-88.

<sup>15</sup> Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 196.

<sup>16</sup> In 1880, an exhaustive search to locate the Pueblo Cemetery of 1846-47 was unsuccessful. It was concluded that the turbulent Arkansas River had inundated the area of the graves several times and that, "no hillock of any kind now marks the last resting place of the battalion boys who died in Pueblo." Hafen and Young, "The Mormon Settlement of Pueblo, Colorado," 136.

<sup>17</sup> Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 247.

Sometime during the battalion's stay at Pueblo, Isaac Carpenter received a gunshot wound in his right arm. The point of entrance was three inches above his elbow on the outer side of the arm. The exit was "on the inner side of the arm near attachment of the biceps muscle to the radius about two inches above the elbow which damaged the biceps tendon."<sup>18</sup> From the point of entrance and exit the wound was not self-inflicted but was a result from someone else's gun. The question is whether it was an accidental hunting wound or something else.

The severe ill will and extreme hard feelings manifested, between the officers and the enlisted men, occurred rather frequently.<sup>19</sup> The enlisted men felt their officers were not treating them as equals and that the officers were not living up to the admonition of Brigham Young, "to be fathers to their Privates." There was fault on both sides and the mutual distrust and disrespect made for a long, strained winter. It would appear, for some, that these difficulties might have dramatically affected their later-life church affiliation. Apparently some never recovered from the beginning distrust spawned during this time.

The sick detachment members and the Mississippi saints left Pueblo for Salt Lake Valley on May 24, 1847. Their route lay north to Fort Laramie. An advance contingent of seventeen Mississippi saints met Brigham Young at the ferry of the Platte River where they apprised him of the discord between the officers and enlisted men. Concerned with the apparent disharmony among battalion members, Young dispatched Apostle Amasa Lyman to diffuse the difficulties and attempt to establish good feelings between the dissenting groups. Lyman was only partially successful.

On June 16, the Mississippi saints and the sick detachment of battalion members following the emigrant trail camped one mile from Fort Laramie, 540 miles west of Council Bluffs. Within six weeks and having departed from Council Bluffs twelve months earlier, battalion members would on July 28 catch their first view of the Great Salt Lake Valley. The Brown sick detachment had traveled 2,100 miles and the Willis sick detachment 2,700 miles before arriving in the valley on July 29, 1847, just five days after the arrival of Brigham Young's company.

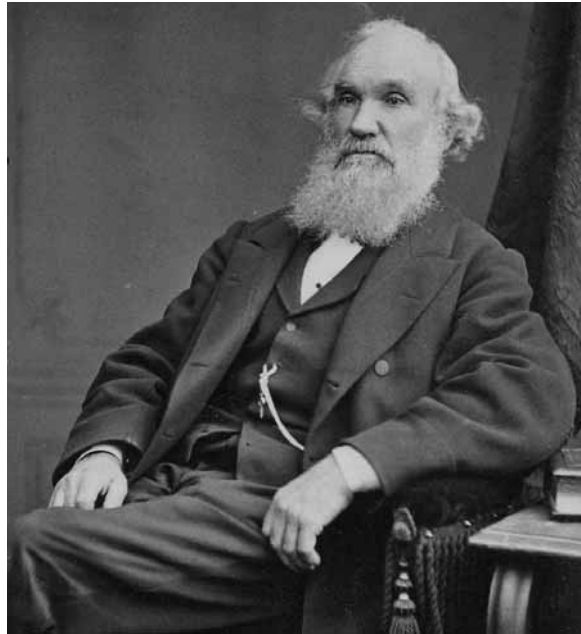
Upon hearing from Apostle Lyman that he was only partially successful in re-establishing harmony among battalion members, Brigham Young and the church council proposed baptizing all of the men for their health as well as for the remission of their sins.<sup>20</sup> Although no records have been found of our two battalion men being re-baptized it is very possible they were. Others were rebaptized as an affirmation of their commitment to the church. Among them was their first cousin, William Perkins Vance, who was a member of Brigham Young's Pioneer Company.

<sup>18</sup> Carpenter, Original Pension Application.

<sup>19</sup> Yurtinus, "A Ram in the Thicket" 2:303-15; Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 247-49.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Bullock Journal, August 4, 1847, LDS Archives.

Two weeks after David, Madison, and Isaac arrived in the valley, they and nine other men were called on August 11 as an advance hunting party to support a much larger group returning to the Missouri River. The returning company consisted of an express group under the charge of Ezra T. Benson with Porter Rockwell and three other former battalion men; a small group of hunters with Norton Jacob as their leader; a group of ox-teams led by Shadrach Roundy and Tunis Rappleye, which



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followed; and the remainder of the returning company under Brigham Young's leadership.<sup>21</sup> From Norton Jacob's journal we can summa-

**John Steele, member of Capt.**

**James Brown's sick detachment.**

rize the activities of our three battalion men for the first month of their journey back to Iowa. Isaac, apparently was the most successful hunter, harvesting six antelope, a buffalo, two mountain goats, and several other game animals. David kept a low profile and Madison, disregarding council, preceded the hunters to Fort Bridger.<sup>22</sup> The further the hunters traveled eastward, the more the hunters became troublesome and rowdy in their behavior, and less inclined to follow counsel, except David. Norton Jacob wrote highly of David's character, distinguishing himself from the others. "We remained in camp. The soldiers were full of cursing and swearing except David M. Perkins." David, apparently, was the only battalion member of this group who conducted himself according to Brigham Young's original counsel. The other hunters treated Jacob's directives with complete indifference, abused him, and threatened to whip him.<sup>23</sup>

On September 1, Jacob's hunters met Jedediah Grant's hundred who were on the way west to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Here David and Madison enjoyed an unexpected brief reunion with their Uncle John Vance and other cousins. Isaac joined in as well.

A week later beyond the upper crossing of the Platte, Jacob's hunters

<sup>21</sup> Ronald O. Barney, *One Side by Himself: The Life and Times of Lewis Barney* (Logan: Utah State University Press, , 2001), 106-107.

<sup>22</sup> Norton Jacob Journal, August 13-September 9, 1847, LDS Archives.

<sup>23</sup> Barney, *One Side by Himself*, 106-107

joined the east-bound Roundy/Rappleye pioneer ox-train company. Jacob noted on September 17: "This morning, Thomas Brown, Ezra Beckstead, Madison Welch, Benjamin Roberts, David M. Perkins and Wm. Bird started to go through to Winter Quarters in consequence of having no bread."<sup>24</sup>

Thomas Brown and the others arrived back in western Iowa in early October 1847, a few days ahead of Clayton and nearly a full month ahead of Brigham Young's company. David rejoiced with his family at their modest home in Pleasant Valley twenty miles east of Council Bluffs. He recounted his experiences of the past year and the sorrowful death of his brother, John Calvin. At the Macedonia Branch, Isaac Carpenter was among families that he could call his own. David's uncle, William G. Perkins, discussed the death of Isaac's father and sister at Cutler's Park during Isaac's absence. Nothing is known of James Madison's homecoming but it is apparent that members of the Perkins family warmly received him as one of their own. Rest, with good food at regular intervals, restored their tired and worn bodies. It did not take long before they were assimilated into pleasant family life and the daily routine of the settlements in Iowa.

Earlier in February 1847, while our three were preparing to leave Pueblo, Colorado, Congress enacted a bill that authorized men who had served in the Mormon Battalion and other veterans of the Mexican War to file for bounty land warrants of 160 acres for each enlisted man. Since Pottawattamie County had not yet been organized, our veterans and others journeyed to the nearest county, Atchison County, Missouri, 160 miles due south, to claim their land warrants. Here on January 5, 1848, they filed for bounty land in Pottawattamie County and all received their warrants.<sup>25</sup> As there are no records extant showing what they did with their bounty land, it is assumed that most sold their warrants for ready cash or traded them for goods that would later enable them to make the journey west. Bounty land was selling for \$1.25 per acre.<sup>26</sup>

Later in December members of the Mormon Battalion were invited to a dinner prepared by the Quorum of Seventy in their honor at the newly constructed Log Tabernacle in Kaneshville. It was a festive occasion. David, Isaac, and Madison no doubt participated. Fellow battalion member Andrew Jackson Shupe wrote of the event: "Happiest day ever witnessed, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith and Joseph Young gave good instruction and cheering remarks."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Jacob Journal, September 17, 1847.

<sup>25</sup> Bounty Land Warrant Records, National Archives. Each, after being duly sworn, testified separately before David D. Lawler, Justice of the Peace, that they were indeed the individuals that had served one year from July 16, 1846, to July 15, 1847, in Company C of the Mormon Battalion, commanded by Capt. James Brown. Their land warrants were submitted through the regular congressional channels to Colonel J. L. Edwards, Commissioner of Pensions, Washington, DC, and later that summer, the Honorable W. P. Hall was notified that each had been awarded his land warrant. Isaac Carpenter received Warrant # 18,692 on June 26, David Martin Perkins received Warrant # 18,869 on July 6, and James Madison Welch received Warrant # 53,193 on August 30, 1848.

<sup>26</sup> Elijah Elmer, *Compilation of Mormon Battalion Journals*, LDS Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Jackson Shupe Diary, LDS Archives.

With John Calvin buried at Pueblo and three of the battalion veterans back from battalion duty, brief biographical sketches of each follow. David, son of Absalom and Nancy Martin Perkins, was born in White County, Tennessee, on August 23, 1823. His brother John Calvin was born five years later on July 25, 1828, in Claris Green, Sangamon County, Illinois. Before volunteering for the Mormon Battalion, David had become acquainted with Harriet Amanda Brown, daughter of Alanson Brown and Cynthia Dorcas Hurd Brown who lived in the Ramus/Macedonia area of Illinois. Returning to Pleasant Valley, Iowa, David renewed his acquaintance with Harriet and on November 28, 1848, they were married.<sup>28</sup>



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the spring of 1849 David and Harriet joined the Allen Taylor Company and after months of travel arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on October 23, 1849. Barely a year later, on November 9, 1850, Harriet died, only five days after giving birth to their first child whom they named David Thomas.

**Brigham Young sent Apostle Amasa T. Lyman, pictured here, to ease the tension between battalion officers and enlisted men of the sick detachment.**

David, in need of much assistance in raising his son, turned to his mother-in-law, fifty-nine-year-old Cynthia Dorcas Brown to look after his newborn. Uncertain of his future and needing comfort and guidance, he sought out Patriarch John Smith, who earlier had presided for a short time at Macedonia, Illinois. Patriarch Smith blessed David with a patriarchal blessing on January 21, 1851. Later, seeking remission of his sins, David was re-baptized in April, re-dedicating himself to the work of the Lord. That same month he was ordained a Seventy by Joseph W. Young and placed in the 39th Quorum of Seventy.<sup>29</sup>

Without a wife and in need of a mother for his young son, David married valley newcomer, twenty-one-year-old Mary Eleanor Osborne, daughter of David and Cynthia Butler Osborne on November 20, 1852. Patriarch Smith performed the ceremony. Mary was born in Green County, Indiana, on August 26, 1831. She was baptized as an eight-year-old before arriving in the valley with her family in September of 1852. Together they would have three children: Cynthia, John, and Osborne.

Mary's brother, Thomas Jefferson Osborne, had preceded his family from Salt Lake City and settled on a farm at the mouth of Weber Canyon. In the

<sup>28</sup> Early Marriage Records 1848-1869, Pottawattamie, Iowa. LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

<sup>29</sup> Seventy Records, 1836-1950, LDS Archives.



summer of 1853 Mary's father, David, joined his son working the land, and later in the fall bought Thomas' interest in the farm. David Jr., Mary's younger brother, joined his father farming.<sup>30</sup> David Perkins and his young family also joined his brother-in-law farming on the Weber River. Grandmother Dorcas Brown accompanied David and Mary who cared for her for more than a dozen years until her death. For the next fifteen years, David lived in close association with his Osborne family in-laws in or near East Weber (named Easton in 1867, and renamed Uintah in 1877).

In the summer of 1857, Brigham Young and the saints received word that President James Buchanan had ordered the U. S. Army to quell growing turmoil in the Great Basin. With the approach of the Utah Expedition, David was again called to serve in the territorial militia. He joined the Fourth Ten, First Company, Fifth Battalion of Territorial Militia, under command of his brother-in-law, Capt. Thomas Jefferson Osborne. On November 9, part of Osborne's company and others who supplemented the company were ordered to "Ekho" [Echo canyon]. "My company was filled up with Justin Govers (sic) & I. Garners tens from Ogden hole . . ." wrote Osborne. His command was likely engaged in constructing fortifications along that avenue of approach. A few weeks later, they received orders to return home.<sup>31</sup>

The winter of 1857-1858 provided a pause in the Utah War. By spring Col. Johnston and his army were preparing to enter the Great Salt Lake Valley. President Young, intent on leaving nothing of value in the valley for the approaching army, made ready to, if necessary, burn Great Salt Lake City. Young also ordered all the saints in Great Salt Lake City and further north to abandon their settlements and farms and "move south." David's family complied and moved with the rest of Weber County to the Provo bottoms. There as July came, the summer heat became oppressive and living conditions for the Mormon refugees and their animals were hard. All the spring green was eaten by the cattle, cows dried up, flies were bad, and the people complained of sickness. President Lorin Farr of the Ogden Stake advised President Young of these conditions and on July 1 was told to take the people back north as quickly as they pleased.<sup>32</sup> David and his family were back in East Weber by mid-July.

Having left the gardens and fields at a critical time of year, many of David's crops were either lost or were not harvested, which resulted in further hardships and privations for David and his family during the winter of 1858-59. With David spending fulltime working the farm in 1860, a good harvest was realized and conditions returned to normal for his family. Early

<sup>30</sup> David Osborne, Holograph, 19, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

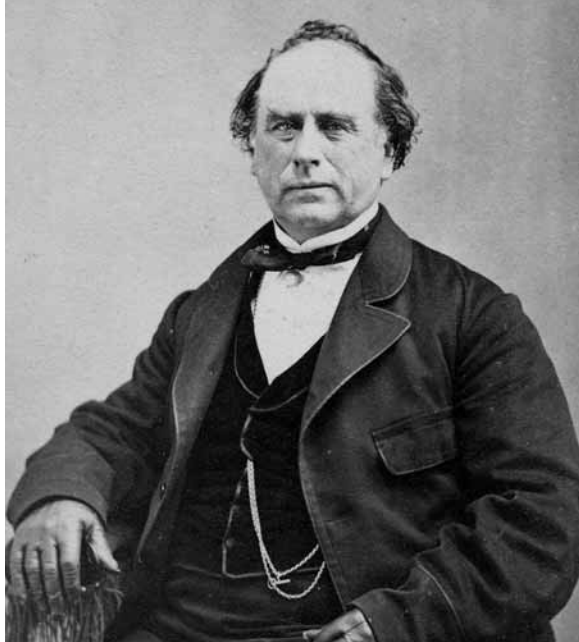
<sup>31</sup> Thomas Jefferson Osborne, Holograph, 1, 2, 11, Special Collections, Lee Library.

<sup>32</sup> Milton R. Hunter, *Beneath Ben Lomond's Peak, a History of Weber County, 1824-1900* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Press, 1945), 96-97.

in the spring of 1861, David rented a portion of a farm, and a year and a half later bought part of the farm for one hundred bushels of wheat. Two years later, David was called to serve as branch president of East Weber.

Because of David's success as a farmer and his reputation as an honest man, in August 1864 voters in Weber County selected David to be one of fourteen delegates from the county to serve on an important convention designed to set commodity prices for the territory. The aim of the convention was to become self-reliant in temporal affairs and to be independent of manufactured products that were being freighted into the valley.<sup>33</sup> During the next few years it was an established practice to hold this convention in conjunction with general conference and oftener, if needed. David probably served as a delegate throughout his tenure as branch president.

David and Mary's young family changed dramatically early in 1865 when their three children came down with scarlet fever. Scarlet fever, caused by the Group A Streptococci, was a ruthless scourge in the pre-antibiotic era. Their daughter Cynthia, age ten, died after five days of illness. Two weeks later, their two sons, Johnny, five, and Osborne, two, also fell ill and soon died, leaving David and Mary without children. This was undoubtedly the most difficult time of David's life. Death had continually robbed him of those whom he loved and felt most responsible for. Earlier while living in Illinois, David had lost a younger and older brother to death. The loss of his brother John Calvin at Pueblo had brought great sadness to him. And the loss of his first wife Harriet Amanda after childbirth weighed heavily on him. Now his three young children by his wife Mary were gone. Mary struggled for months following the loss of her three chil-



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***David Martin, Isaac Carpenter, and James Madison Welch, part of a hunting party to support returning party led by Ezra T. Benson, pictured here, to the Missouri River. Years later Benson married Isaac Carpenter to his bride, Nancy Adaline.***

<sup>33</sup> Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, August 8, 10, 1864; hereafter cited as Journal History.

dren. Later that fall David took Mary to Cache Valley for a visit with her father and sister's families, hoping this would ease Mary's despair.<sup>34</sup>

For the next few years, David and Mary moved about hoping to find an answer to Mary's heavy loss. They first located in Ogden where David found work helping Bishop Chauncey W. West, with whom he had become well acquainted while serving as branch president in Uintah, to build a two-story mill powered by a huge wooden water wheel.<sup>35</sup> Finding no other work in Ogden, David and Mary moved to Three Mile Creek, Box Elder County, where Mary's brother, David, his wife Nancy and children were farming. Here they once again took up farming on property owned by Mary's family. David and Mary remained at Three Mile Creek until 1869 or early 1870 when they moved to Salt Lake City where they settled in the Brighton Ward west of the Jordan River.<sup>36</sup>

Living in the Salt Lake Valley, David now had the opportunity to attend the church's conferences held each spring and fall. It was during the week of the October 1869 general conference that a Mormon Battalion party was held at the Social Hall. David most likely was in attendance. Major Jefferson Hunt, in a very touching address, expressed the great warmth he had for his associates of former days and his pleasure in meeting together once more, seeing their faces and in exchanging kindly feelings and good wishes. President Brigham Young also addressed the group and noted that there should be nothing preventing the battalion from coming together more often.<sup>37</sup> The next year a similar gathering of surviving members of Zion's Camp, along with members of the Mormon Battalion and invited guests, was held at the Social Hall. Some 350 participants, including David and Mary, enjoyed the afternoon and evening activities and dinner.

Sometime in the early 1870s David and Mary moved again, this time to Pleasant Green (present-day Magna). There on April 4, 1874, David died "near Point of the Mountain from liver complaint," and was laid to rest in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. He was 50 years, 7 months, and 12 days old at the time of his death.<sup>38</sup> His brief obituary noted that "Brother Perkins was true and faithful as a church member until the last and was loved and respected by all who knew him." Mary remarried and lived until 1906.<sup>39</sup>

Little is known of the early life of our third soldier, Isaac "Ike" Carpenter. (On occasion Isaac used the letter "J" as middle initial.) Isaac was born at Ellenville, Sullivan County, New York, in 1827. His parents

<sup>34</sup> David Osborne, *Diary*, Special Collections, Lee Library, 26-27

<sup>35</sup> Hunter, *Beneath Ben Lomond's Peak*, 292

<sup>36</sup> "A Brief History of Salt Lake County," January 28, 1868, LDS Archives

<sup>37</sup> *Journal History*, October 8, 1869.

<sup>38</sup> His headstone inscription reads: David Martin Perkins, Private Company C, Mormon Battalion, Volunteer Mexican War. Very early in the settlement of the Great Salt Lake Valley, the northern point of the Oquirrh Mountains was also known as "the Point of the Mountain."

<sup>39</sup> Mary would become a third wife of William Moore Allred, brother of Reddick N., a Mormon Battalion member who had served with David. Mary would care for William until his death.

were Samuel and Janette Gillis Carpenter. They had six children, one son and five daughters. The Samuel Carpenter family later moved to the Ramus/Macedonia areas of Illinois where they lived in close proximity to the two Ute Perkins families: Ute, the Revolutionary War Veteran, and Ute his grandson.

Isaac's name has never been found on membership records of the church. However, he is listed as a returning member of the Mormon Battalion by Thomas Bullock, the "clerk of the camp," in August 1847. This roster is of the Mississippi saints and the battalion members and families who wintered at Pueblo compiled after they arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley.<sup>40</sup> It is conjectured that Isaac may have been baptized during his late teenage years in Hancock County or perhaps in Iowa before joining the Mormon Battalion.

Upon Isaac's return to Pleasant Valley in Pottawattamie County from battalion service, William G. Perkins informed him of the death of his father, Samuel, and his sister, Abigail, both of whom had died at Winter Quarters in the winter of 1846. Isaac may have already known of this tragedy since there was at least one mail exchange between the sick battalion detachment at Pueblo and the saints at Winter Quarters.

In time Isaac began courting David and John's sister, Nancy Adaline. They were married at Pleasant Valley, Pottawattamie County, Iowa, April 15, 1849, Apostle Ezra T. Benson performing the ceremony.<sup>41</sup> Isaac was twenty-three and Nancy Adaline seventeen. Their first child, Susan, was born there in the spring of 1850.

Isaac and Nancy came west with the Warren Foote Company of 1850. This company divided and traveled as two separate hundreds. The second hundred was under the leadership of Warren Foote's brother, Jonathan. William Wall, a fellow Macedonian, was captain of the second fifty in Jonathan's hundred. Ute Perkins, Isaac's brother-in-law, was captain of the first ten in Wall's second fifty.

From time-to-time disputations arose between Mormon pioneers on their journeys west and so it was in Ute's ten. In a scant day-by-day travel journal, Ute recorded, "August 9 1850, I. Carpenter got mad because I talked to him and he took his things out of my wagon contrary to my counsel or wishes. I told him not to put them out for I had brought him this far and intended to take him on to the valley."<sup>42</sup> In an earlier incomplete notation there is a hint that this difficulty may have arisen over some work or financial matters related to the journey.

The Warren Foote Company arrived in the Salt Lake Valley during the

<sup>40</sup> For a complete list see Bigler and Bagley, eds, *Army of Israel*, 456-60; and Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 24, 238.

<sup>41</sup> *Frontier Guardian*, April 18, 1849; Carpenter, Original Pension Application; Marriage Certificate, District Court, Pottawattamie Co., Iowa.

<sup>42</sup> Ute Perkins, 1850 Mileage and Camp Journal to Utah, copy in author's possession.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Bullock, Plat of Salt Lake City, September 20, 1860, FHL. The south half of lot eight, block

third and fourth weeks of September. The Carpenters settled in the Nineteenth Ward just north of David Martin's lot, located near Fourth West and Fourth North.<sup>43</sup> Nancy Adaline's now widowed mother, Nancy, lived across the street from David Martin on the next block south.<sup>44</sup> It was in Great Salt Lake City that a second daughter, Adaline, was born to the Carpenters in 1852 and their first son, Charles, in 1854.

Between the birth of Adaline and Charles, in April 1853, Isaac and another former Mormon Battalion member, Alexander Stephens from Company D, were charged with larceny. William G. Perkins, Isaac's uncle-in-law, was a member of the grand jury called to hear the indictment against Isaac and Alexander. The grand jury presented separate Bills of Indictment against the two. The indictment against Isaac was entitled: "An indictment for Larceny, Accessory before and after the fact, and for Vagrancy." It read:

The Grand Jurors in and for the Territory of Utah, upon their oath present that Isaac Carpenter of the county of Great Salt Lake and Territory of Utah, was accessory to the crime of Larceny, before the fact, about the 31st day of July, in the year of 1852, by encouraging and assisting Alexander Stevens [Stephens] to steal a horse of the value of \$100, of the property of Jefferson Patton. That further, the aforesaid Isaac Carpenter, was accessory to the crime of Larceny, after the fact, committed as aforesaid, by assisting the aforesaid Alexander Stevens [Stephens], in concealing the horse stolen as aforesaid; and further, that the aforesaid Isaac Carpenter, during the winter of the years 1852-1853, has been a Vagrant, in the county of Great Salt Lake and the Territory aforesaid, without any apparent means of support.

Isaac pleaded, "Not Guilty" to the charges. As the trial began prosecuting attorney James Ferguson, probably the most literate of former battalion members, moved that a "Nolle Prose Qui" be entered and Alexander Stephens be discharged from the indictment. The motion was sustained and Stephens then testified on the part of the people. This surprise move sealed Isaac's fate. Samuel Alger, John Shafer, and Lot Huntington were duly sworn and testified on the part of the defense. Here the case rested and after an hour and a half of deliberation the jury found Isaac guilty. He was fined one hundred dollars, and sentenced to six months imprisonment. Court costs of \$125 were also assessed. As there was no prison yet in the territory, "the prisoner, Isaac Carpenter [was to] wear the Ball and Chain at hard labor for the term of imprisonment." For his testimony against Isaac, Stephens received a marginal sentence: a \$50 fine and court costs of \$57.75.<sup>45</sup> This trial must have weighed heavily upon the Perkins families

135, is located north of Fourth North and west of Fourth West.

<sup>44</sup> Bullock, lot seven, block 118, FHL.

<sup>45</sup> Salt Lake County Probate Court Records, April 18-22, 1853, Civil and Criminal Case files, 1852-1889, series 00373, microfilm, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City. In a strange about-face some three years later Alexander Stephens was elected a Constable in Cedar County, on August 4, 1856. Cedar County was established on January 5, 1856, named after various cedar trees in the region and was absorbed into Utah County in 1862. See, John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 72.



and may have seemed grossly unfair; Stephens actually stole the horse. That Isaac was also declared a vagrant in the indictment clearly demonstrates that he had worked very little, had little respect in the city, and had not been integrated into the Mormon community.

The only compassion exhibited in this affair was from Brigham Young who, as territorial governor, pardoned Isaac on May 20, 1853. Isaac served less than a month of his sentence. Relatives and friends, and those in more prominent places, had appealed to President Young on Isaac's behalf. Among "the good and worthy citizens" who requested Isaac's pardon were Seventh Ward Bishop William G. Perkins and John Vance of the Salt Lake Stake High Council, both uncles-in-law of Isaac.

Four and one-half months after being pardoned, on the last day of the October 1853 general conference Isaac and thirty-eight men were called to participate in a colonizing mission to Green River under the direction of Orson Hyde. Among this group were Isaac's brothers-in-law, Ute and George Washington Perkins, and first cousins by marriage, Reuben W. and Franklin M. Perkins. They left on November 2, 1853, and some three weeks later, after reaching their destination, settled on a site that later became Fort Supply.

Separation from families, crowded quarters, extreme cold, and an inadequate food supply created morale problems that winter. Isaac "exhibited a belligerent spirit" and he and William Garr "refused to do camp duty and left for Salt Lake City." Several of the men also left the mission on March 14, 1854. Upon motion it was decided to withdraw the right hand of fellowship from these members of the camp.<sup>46</sup> After this unhappy experience and away from his family, Isaac searched for greater financial resources and opportunities with less structured authority. He decided to leave Zion and move further west, outside of Mormon control. The gold fields of California had enticed many and now routes across Nevada and over the mountains to California were well established. Isaac may have joined other dissatisfied saints who were also heading for California or he may have joined a California emigrant company. Perhaps he left under the pretense that he was going to strengthen Mormon settlements in the Carson Valley Mission and followed Orson Hyde who with thirty-six members of the church including Isaac's relatives by marriage, Jesse Nelson and Reuben W. Perkins, left for Carson Valley on May 17, 1855. Isaac probably did not stop there for long, if he stopped at all, but slipped over the mountains to California while the summer weather prevailed.

Isaac and Nancy settled in the Hangtown (Placerville) region of California with its many small mining towns and communities of Logtown, Nudesprings, Sly Park, Diamond Spring, Mudspring, and French Creek. In this heartland of the Mormon argonauts, he worked in the mining and

<sup>46</sup> Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Supply: Brigham Young's Green River Experiment* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1976), 33.

timber industries.<sup>47</sup> It was in California that a second son, and fourth child, Frances, was born in 1856, twin daughters, Alzada and Alwilda, in 1858, daughter Elizabeth A. in 1860, and son William Edgar, their last recorded child born in 1864.<sup>48</sup> In 1869 they moved to Carson Valley, Ormsby County, Nevada, where Isaac took up farming. Three years later, Isaac and his family were again on the move, this time settling on a farm in Colorado.

While living there, Congress in January 1887 passed the Survivor's Service Pension Act for disabled veterans of the Mexican War. For Isaac to claim his disabled veterans pension, he had to file for it in Salt Lake City. There he presented his application that included affidavits from former Mormon Battalion members, Oliver G. Workman of Company B, and George W. Boyd of Company D. Workman and Boyd both stated, as noted earlier, that Isaac was disabled by a hernia (rupture) in the right groin, "caused by the upsetting of a wagon and camp material upon him, and the extra exertions at the time," which occurred, "about the 25th day of August, 1846 at Hurrican[e] Point, [and were] present at the time — say about 4 o'clock."<sup>49</sup> Isaac was awarded a pension of eight dollars a month.

On his application, Isaac stated that he had been living "in and around Pueblo [Colorado] for seventeen years" and in Nunda, Huerfano County, Colorado, for the last three years.<sup>50</sup> Sometime between 1887 and 1900 Isaac moved his family north two counties and settled in Canon City.

Late in 1891 or early in 1892 Isaac and Adaline were in Ashland, Jackson County, Oregon, probably there to visit with daughters Susan or Adaline. Neither of the daughters had accompanied their parents to Colorado. The *Ashland Tidings* reported on a "Reunion of all the Old Soldiers and Sailors of Southern Oregon" that was held in Ashland. Isaac Carpenter's name is among several hundred that attended the event.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps it was at this reunion that Isaac learned of federal legislation that was about to increase pension benefits for veterans. Isaac moved swiftly and had two neighbors, Henry Teel and John M. Hicks, file general affidavits indicating his present condition and supporting his contention of a need for an increase in his benefits. They stated that they had known him "something over a year."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> J. Kenneth Davies, *Mormon Gold, the Story of California's Mormon Argonauts*. (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1984), ii.

<sup>48</sup> U. S. Bureau of Census, 1870, Ormsby County, Nevada; and the names and birthdate of Isaac and Adeline's children are given in this 1870 census and confirmed in an 1885 Huerfano County, Colorado census

<sup>49</sup> Carpenter, Original Pension Application.

<sup>50</sup> Nunda cannot be identified. However a post office was established at Nynda, Huerfano County in 1883, and was discontinued five years later. Since Isaac could not read or write it is assumed that those helping him with his application merely misspelled Nynda.

<sup>51</sup> *Ashland Tidings*, Ashland Oregon, Newspaper Abstracts, 1876-1927, September 12-15, 1892, FHL, 6:57.

<sup>52</sup> Carpenter, Original Pension Application. The application referenced his rupture and gunshot wound and asserted that he is in such destitute circumstances that eight dollars per month are insufficient to provide him with the necessities of life, and that he believes himself to be entitled to an increase to twelve

Accompanying this affidavit was a physician's affidavit from Dr. S. T. Songer which listed Isaac's physical impairments, general disabilities of age, and that he "... is entirely unable for any kind of Manual Labor. . . . I therefore Recommend that his increase be allowed," and that he "has been acquainted with the above-named soldier for about one year . . . and that I have known him only as a neighbor and by being called to treat one of his grandchildren and by often seeing him on the street."<sup>53</sup>

Isaac and his wife were back in Colorado by spring of 1895. Their trip to Oregon had disrupted his Oregon application for benefits and once again he was examined by a doctor and his pension increase was approved. Twelve years later, Congress again approved an increase in pensions for war veterans, and once again Isaac made application which increased his pension to twenty dollars a month.<sup>54</sup> Sometime before 1910, Isaac and Adaline moved to Florence, Colorado, a short distance from Canon City. It was here that both would spend the remainder of their days, residing at 1327 West Third Street. Isaac died July 18, 1910, and was buried in the Union Highland Cemetery in Florence. According to his death certificate he was eighty-three years, one month, and nine days old. The cause of death is listed as organic heart disease. His occupation is listed as a stock raiser.<sup>55</sup>



***Mormon Battalion Monument, Utah Capitol grounds, Salt Lake City, dedicated May 30, 1927. The Monument consists of four scenes: "The Enlistment," "The March," "Discovery of Gold in California, January 24, 1848," and "The Entrance of the Pueblo Detachment into Salt Lake Valley, July 29, 1847."***

dollars per month under the provisions of the act of January 5, 1893. "On this 19th day of May, AD one thousand eight hundred and ninety three personally appeared before me . . . Isaac Carpenter, aged 67 years, a resident of the City of Ashland, county of Jackson, State of Oregon, who . . . is enrolled at the Topeka, Kans. Pension Agency under certificate No. 10502 at the rate of \$8 per month . . . on account of the service of himself in Captain James Brown's Company, C from July 1846, to fall of 1849 [1847] in the Mexican War, that he is wholly disabled for manual labor by reason of old age and rupture of the right side and gunshot wound . . ."

<sup>53</sup> Carpenter, Original Pension Application, Physician's Affidavit, May 19, 1893.

<sup>54</sup> Carpenter, Original Pension Application, Affidavit, March 11, 1907.

<sup>55</sup> The headstone inscription reads: "Isaac Carpenter, Company C, Mormon Battalion, Volunteer Mexican War." Adaline would die at age eighty-nine, thirteen years later on September 9, 1923, according to pension records. At the time of her death she was receiving thirty dollars a month.

Family traditions depict Ike Carpenter as a rough, old-time western sheriff who boasted of the number of Indians and bad men who had bit the dust as a result of his quick draw and that dear Aunt Adaline smoked cigars.<sup>56</sup> There appears to be little truth in this depiction although Ike did have a bullet wound in his arm. However, if he was ever a part of law enforcement it has yet to be documented. Embellished and fanciful stories may have arisen from Isaac's gunshot wound and from the fact that he lived in Canon City where the Colorado State penitentiary was located. Those who knew Isaac well could readily surmise that he probably initiated these tales himself.

It is ironic that Isaac and Adaline spent their last years living only thirty-five miles west of Pueblo, where Isaac almost certainly spent time in the nearby foothills and mountains on hunting expeditions

Our fourth soldier, James Madison Welch was born on May 19, 1828, in Morgan County, Illinois. Only five weeks older than his cousin John Calvin Perkins, he was the sixth child and fourth son of James Fleming and Elizabeth Lollar Perkins Welch. He was called by his middle name to distinguish himself from his father.

When the Mormons were forced to leave Illinois in the spring of 1846, Madison chose to go west with many of his Perkins kin even though he was not a member of the church and would never join. In western Iowa when the call came for volunteers to enlist in the Mormon Battalion, young, adventuresome Madison joined his cousins and was assigned to Company C. He, like his two Perkins friends, reached the Great Salt Lake Valley late in July 1847. From there he returned to Iowa, and then to Atchison County, Missouri, where he applied for bounty land warrants before returning back to Iowa.

Madison's name surprisingly appears in the Pottawattamie High Council Minutes of March 18, 1848. Both his uncle William G. Perkins, and his first cousin Andrew H. Perkins, were members of the council. Apparently Madison had passed counterfeit money to a sister Elmore. Uncle William G. was instructed to resolve the matter, which he did. It is not known if Madison passed the counterfeit money knowingly, or unwittingly, since counterfeit money makers had recently begun "working" the area.<sup>57</sup>

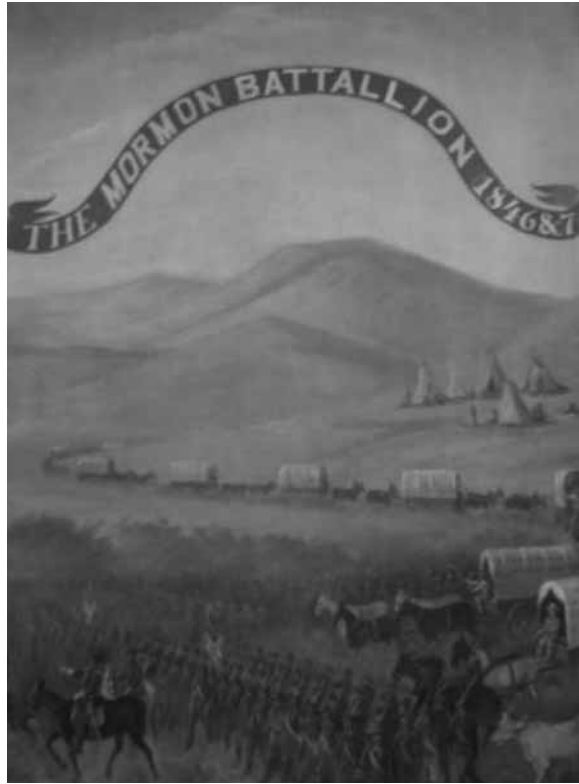
Non-Mormon Madison married Mormon Lucy Taylor in 1849 or early 1850 and accompanied Isaac Carpenter and the remaining Perkins families west with the Warren Foote Company of 1850.<sup>58</sup> Madison and his Taylor in-law families settled briefly in Little Cottonwood and then moved to Utah County before joining the saints in the Rich-Lyman Company to

<sup>56</sup> Emil M. Whitesides, "Susan Perkins Whitesides—Sister of Ute Perkins, Daughter of Absalom," July 30, 1961, copy in author's possession.

<sup>57</sup> Pottawattamie, Iowa, High Council Minutes, March 18, 1848, LDS Archives.

<sup>58</sup> Journal History, June 12, 19, 1850, 1-3; Warren Foote, Emigrating Co. Journal, June-Sept, 1850, LDS Archives.

settle San Bernardino. Madison and the others arrived at Sycamore Springs at the mouth of Cajon Pass June 10, 1851.<sup>59</sup> Madison acquired two lots in the county and then added thirty acres of land on which he regularly paid taxes.<sup>60</sup> Sometime during these years Madison and Lucy separated. No known children resulted from this union. Madison's ties with his boyhood friends were completely severed when his cousin, Francis Marion Perkins, brother of David and John, was stabbed to death in a bar-room brawl in San Bernardino in June 1857.<sup>61</sup>



DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS MUSEUM, SALT LAKE CITY

Three years later on November 8, 1860, thirty-year-old Madison married twenty-five-year-old Dorcas Cole.<sup>62</sup> This marriage lasted less than seven months.

Six months later in June 1861, Madison found himself in trouble with the law when he and Jacob Harris were “sought” for stealing one gray horse valued at eighty dollars from George Yager. Captured and put on trial, Madison was found guilty of petty larceny in July.<sup>63</sup> Surprisingly, Dorcas, Madison’s ex-wife, testified for the prosecution against him.

Five years later Madison found a lasting marriage with much married, divorced, and widowed Malinda Hiltman Case Blackburn Bishop Wilcox Martin. Together they raised a large family. She, unlike Madison, was a member of the LDS church. Malinda, daughter of Gashum C. Case and Susan Fitchett Case, was born in Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, on October 4, 1836. Madison and Melinda would have their first child, a son, Carol, the

<sup>59</sup> E. P. R. Crafts, “Pioneer Camps in San Bernardino Valley,” 24–25, FHL.

<sup>60</sup> San Bernardino County Tax Assessment Rolls, 1853–1860, San Bernardino Archives, San Bernardino, California.

<sup>61</sup> San Bernardino Branch Minutes, (1851–1857), June 20, 1857, LDS Archives; and Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino, The Rise and Fall of a California Community*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 175, 197, 288–89, 344.

<sup>62</sup> Marriage Affidavits, San Bernardino Archives, December 8, 1861.

<sup>63</sup> San Bernardino Court Case Index, 1861, Case # 4, *People of the State of California vs. Madison Welch and Jacob Harris*, San Bernardino Archives, San Bernardino, California.



same year they were married. Together they would have four more children Alice in 1869, Stella in 1871, George M. in 1874, and John L. in 1875.<sup>64</sup> Additionally, Malinda brought six children by earlier marriages to the union. Immediately becoming a father of seven children required much giving of love, affection, discipline, and a sense of family unity, a challenge for Madison. To support his large family, Madison worked as a teamster.

Like his two Mormon Battalion friends, Madison, too, was not content to stay in one place. Sometime in 1878 or 1879, Madison moved his family from San Bernardino to nearby Los Angeles County, where he lived in Fountain Valley for a short time before moving to Modesto.<sup>65</sup> From Modesto, Madison moved south to El Monte, and finally settled in San Pasqual, San Diego County.

Madison returned to San Bernardino in October 1889, where he and his long time friends filed for pensions for their battalion service. Abner Blackburn, who served with him in Company C and William F. Holcomb, who stated that he had known Madison for twenty-eight years (since 1861), validated his claim. Madison, who had never learned to write, signed his name with his mark. A week later Dr. C. D. Dickey supplied a physician's affidavit which provided needed health and medical information. Madison was awarded the standard pension benefit of eight dollars a month.<sup>66</sup>

Four years later, Congress increased pension benefits for war veterans. Madison, after learning of these additional benefits filed for the increase. In February 1894, he appeared before Dr. James Rice for a medical evaluation. Dr. Rice wrote: "I find both eyes of claimant afflicted with cataract . . . His vision is so imperfect that with great difficulty he distinguishes two inch letters at 30 inches, his easiest position. This trouble is undoubtedly growing worse quite rapidly. Dyspepsia and rheumatism are also present . . . I believe him totally unfit for manual labor." Madison stated that he "had no property excepting one horse of a value of \$30." He was awarded an increase in his pension from eight dollars to twelve dollars a month, effective April 19, 1894.<sup>67</sup>

Madison enjoyed these additional benefits only briefly. Six months later, on October 19, 1894, Madison was killed in a freak accident at the age of sixty-six. We learn from his obituary that his poor vision, as detailed in his pension applications, undoubtedly contributed to his untimely demise.

James M. Welch, a farmer living on the divide between Santa Maria Valley and the San Pasqual grade, lost his life in a shocking manner last Friday night, the 19th inst. He went to Nuevo Friday morning to witness the ball game, and started for home about

<sup>64</sup> Family Records in possession of authors.

<sup>65</sup> Great Register, Los Angeles County, California (1879), FHL, 9.

<sup>66</sup> James Madison Welch, Original Pension Application of 1889; Selected Pension Application Files for Members of the Mormon Battalion, Mexican War, 1846-1848, National Archives, copy in author's possession. According to his pension application, Madison suffered from pterygium [pterygium], reduced vision and conjunctivitis, deformity of right hand due to rheumatism, chronic rheumatism of the right shoulder, chronic dyspepsia and pleuritic neuralgia, all of which disabled him from performing manual labor.

<sup>67</sup> Welch, Original Pension Application.

dark. After going through two gates he lost his way, and after wandering some time, now and then running into a wire fence, he drove his team up a steep and rocky ridge back of the Montecito school house. When near the top of the ridge one of the wheels ran against a rock and Welch must have thought the wagon was tipping over, as he jumped out to save himself. His foot caught in the rope attached to the brake and held him swinging his head violently downward, where he struck, breaking his neck.<sup>68</sup>

Madison's wife, Malinda, filed for a widow's pension one month later, and eighteen years later died on April 6, 1912, from complication of diabetes. Years later the *San Bernardino Sun* reviewed the legacy and pioneer heritage of Malinda Welch and her parents, Gashum C. and Susan Fitchett Case. The newspaper calculated in 1938 that Malinda had 168 descendants.<sup>69</sup>

James Madison Welch a diminutive, 5' 5" in height, was a follower, not a leader. He was not one to make waves. Dissatisfied with his life in Illinois, he chose in 1850 to go west for a second time. He associated with the saints in Illinois, Iowa, Utah, and California, and was somewhat supportive of them, but could never bring himself to join in their membership ranks and become one with them. As a member of the Mormon Battalion, Madison displayed indifference to fatigue and hardship. Throughout his life he had simple needs. He married three times, finally coming to peace with himself, he became kinder and gentler when he married Malinda and together, they raised a large, blended family.

John Calvin Perkins, the youngest of our veterans, was a "splendid young man," who paid for his service with his life. Either with unbounded religious fervor or with the sublime faith of a child, he had joined the battalion expecting divine protection throughout the march. In the full bloom of early manhood, he was only nineteen when he died.

David Martin Perkins, was a "straight arrow" from the beginning who continued in full fellowship throughout his life in the LDS church, serving as Presiding Elder in East Weber for a number of years. His life was almost saintly, filled with tragedy losing his father, mother, first wife, and three children early, and his own life ending at age fifty-one. David stood "life's test" well; that is enough!

Burly Isaac Carpenter, headstrong and impulsive, was a non-conformist of the first order. He chafed under authoritarian rule. He was his own man and acted recklessly on occasion. With the right hand of fellowship withdrawn in 1853 for leaving Fort Supply, he chose not to continue living with the saints. He was never inclined or disciplined enough to have fellowship restored to him and died in Colorado at age eighty-three.

Reflectively, one is drawn to speculate. Had conditions been different the winter of 1846-1847 at Pueblo, where these four served under two of the least respected Mormon officers of the battalion, would Carpenter have retained an active association with the saints? The schism surely began here.

<sup>68</sup> *San Diego Union*, October 25, 1894

<sup>69</sup> *San Bernardino Sun*, December 29, 1938.

Would Welch, who was sent by Cooke to Santa Fe and then to Pueblo under the command of an officer puffed up by his own authority, in turn have embraced the faith? It is well established that a very significant number of battalion members deserted their tenets and beliefs, severed relations with the church, moved outside of Mormon rule, and joined other faiths. None of these four men, while serving in the battalion, ever made it to California. None found wealth or fame and each struggled to make a livelihood. All were on the lowest echelon of the army pay scale — privates. They had their share of imperfections. In short, they appear typical men who made typically modest contributions to their respective times and places. But taken together, their stories add up to a significant slice of social history. Additional studies of this type will enlarge that slice and lend new meaning to Brigham Young's promise of "honorable remembrance" made to Mormon Battalion veterans nearly 160 years ago.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Journal History, February 6–7, 1855.

**“One vast  
‘contiguity of  
waste’”:**

**Documents  
from an Early  
Attempt to  
Expand the  
Mormon  
Kingdom into  
the Uinta  
Basin, 1861**

By JEDEDIAH S. ROGERS



SMITHSONIAN OFFICE OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

**L**DS church president Brigham Young called Utah Territorial Surveyor General Jesse W. Fox and an exploring party to appraise the Uinta Valley in August 1861, confident the region would prove suitable for farming, grazing, and settlement. Even before the official report reached Young’s office in Salt Lake City, settlers had arranged to depart for their new homes in the Uinta Basin “on about the 23rd of this month [September].”<sup>1</sup> On September 5, only three days after Fox and his party set out, Mormon Apostle George A. Smith returned from a “trip South,” where he “told those who were cultivating poor land to move to Uinta if they wished, not excluding

***Two members of the Uinta-ats (Uintah) band of Ute people who occupied the Uinta Basin mid-nineteenth century. Other bands of Indians from Utah and western Colorado relocated to the Uinta Basin after 1865.***

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<sup>1</sup> *Deseret News*, September 11, 1861; Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, August 29, 1861, microfilm, p. 1, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

those who were better off.” That Young was sure the Uinta Basin would be settled is evident given his approval of Smith’s action.<sup>2</sup>

But the official report Young received on September 15 was not encouraging. The eastern region of Utah was reported in the *Deseret News* to be “one vast ‘contiguity of waste’”—“measurably valueless, excepting for nomadic purposes, hunting grounds for Indians and to hold the world together.”<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that this negative perception of the region persisted for quite some time, at least among Mormons; the predominantly Mormon settlements in Duchesne and the eastern edge of Uintah counties—the areas explored in 1861—generally did not take root until the early twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

Brigham Young had several motivations to establish a Mormon presence in the Uinta Valley. Most pressing in his mind, it seems, was the possible threat of the federal government and other “gentiles” taking control of the region. Federal officials had appointed E. L. Berthoud in 1861 to conduct a survey of the Uinta Basin for an overland stage route from Missouri to Sacramento cutting directly through Utah. “I have been requested several times to permit a settlement in that valley, but I have never wished to do so until now,” Young told about thirty “Uintah Missionaries” who had been called to settle the basin in August 1861. “The Gentiles will take possession of that valley, if we do not, and I do not wish them to have it.”<sup>5</sup>

Brigham Young may also have been lured to the Uinta Basin from reports that the region contained “fertile vales, extensive meadows, and wide pasture-ranges.” It was said that some early Utah explorers and traders considered the Uinta Valley more desirable than any in the Great Basin, excepting the Great Salt Lake Valley.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Brigham Young Office Journals, September 5, 1861, (pp. 293–94.) LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

<sup>3</sup> *Deseret News*, September 25, 1861. This statement was echoed three days later when the *News* wrote that they “did not know why God had created it [Uinta Valley], unless it was to hold two other parts of the world together.” Ibid., September 28, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> The settlement of Ashley in Uintah County was founded in 1872; Jensen, Uintah County, in 1877; Maeser, Mountain Dell, Naples, and Vernal, Uintah County, in 1878; Glines, Uintah County, in 1880; and Deep Creek in 1885 in what later became Duchesne County. All others were established in the twentieth century. For the most comprehensive list available of the dates Mormon communities were established up to 1930, see Dale F. Beecher, “Colonizer of the West,” in *Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life & Service of Brigham Young*, Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter, eds. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1995), 172–208.

<sup>5</sup> Journal History, August 27, 1861, p. 1. It has been suggested that Young sent the exploring party after learning of a proposal for “the establishment of a reserve including the whole of Winter [Uintah] Valley” for the Indians who resided at the Spanish Fork Indian Farm. Young may well have been aware of this recommendation, which was first made by Supt. Benjamin Davies in an annual report to the Indian Commissioner on June 30, 1861. It is likely that Young wanted to be sure the area was not suitable for settlement before giving it up to the Utes. See Gustive O. Larson, “Uintah Dream: The Ute Treaty–Spanish Fork, 1865,” *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 361–62; also Floyd O’Neil, “A History of the Ute Indians of Utah until 1890” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1973), 51.

<sup>6</sup> *Deseret News*, September 25, 1861. Diaries and journals from explorers beginning with Spanish Catholic Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante suggest that positive perceptions of the land were quite common and found the area favorable for settlement. On September 18, 1776, traveling just north of the Duchesne River, Escalante recorded, “There is good land along these three rivers [the lower Duchesne, the





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Another motivation to expand the Mormon kingdom was certainly what one report called “the great increase of population in these valleys [along the Wasatch Front].”<sup>7</sup> For the first decade since wagons rolled into the sand and alkali-drenched soils of the Great Basin, Mormon pioneers began to establish and colonize with zeal few others in the West had yet demonstrated. The process of carving out the one-thousand-mile inland empire would not occur overnight, of course. But the immigrant arrivals—driven primarily by a religious devotion to establish the “Kingdom of God”—did their best to make a mark on as much of the desert country as possible. In the first years Young began to stretch his domain north and south along the Wasatch Front and

***Uinta Basin portion of Utah territorial map compiled by Bureau of Topographical Engineers, 1858.***

Lake Fork, and the upper Duchesne] that we crossed today, and plenty of it for farming with the aid of irrigation—beautiful poplar groves, fine pastures, timber and firewood not too far away, for three good settlements.” Further east at the site of present-day Strawberry Reservoir the Dominguez-Escalante expedition passed through “a very pleasant valley with good pasturages, many springs, and beautiful groves of not very tall or thick white poplars. In it there are all the conveniences required for a settlement.” See Fray Angelico Chavez, trans., Ted J. Warner, ed. *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 58, 60. Other early visitors, including Rufus Sage and John C. Fremont, also found the land inviting. See their reports in Gary Lee Walker, “A History of Fort Duchesne, including Fort Thornburgh: The Military Presence in Frontier Uinta Basin, Utah” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1992), 1:11.

<sup>7</sup> *Deseret News*, September 11, 1861.

selected settlements, most along the present-day I-15 corridor. By 1861 what could be known as a second phase of expansion already had commenced in the interior and the high plateau regions of the Great Basin.

In a move not entirely unique, though certainly unexpected, Daniel H. Wells, counselor to the LDS church president, stepped to the pulpit of the old tabernacle in Salt Lake City and read the list of names of those called to settle the Uinta Valley. No time would be wasted to accustom the recruits to their new assignment. Two days following the pronouncement, on August 25, most of these men met in the LDS Church Historian's Office where three persons were struck from the list, "at their own request," and eleven more names were added. This was a calling, Young reminded the group. "If I had called for volunteers on Sunday I could have obtained 200 names, but this I did not [wish] to do," he stated.<sup>8</sup> Another meeting was held on August 29, where it was decided that an exploring party would survey the valley and select a suitable site for settlement before the main company set out. A smaller group would depart the city a few days later on September 9 to help forge a road to the valley, while the "main party" would embark for the Uinta Valley a few weeks later.<sup>9</sup>

Actually, there were two exploring parties that set out on or around September 2 — a Salt Lake Company, likely led by Thomas Rhoades and Jesse W. Fox, and a Provo Company, led by James W. Cummings. We know less of the Salt Lake Company, except for a few cryptic notes from the journal kept by L. John Nuttall, a member of the Provo Company and the only member to make a record of their journey, and the few references found in the official report of the expedition sent to Brigham Young. We don't know how this company entered the Uinta Basin, but it was probably through the Kamas area. From there, it struck the "principal stream," or the Duchesne, and followed it to the Green River.

The Provo group departed Salt Lake City on September 2 for Utah Valley where more recruits were garnered, which made a total of eleven men and sixteen horses and mules. The following day the party set out from Provo making their way up Provo Canyon into Round Valley, following Daniel's Creek and climbing over the ridge down into Strawberry Valley. At this point, it becomes difficult to determine the precise trail, but Nuttall's journal is detailed enough to give us a pretty good idea. The course was mostly "due east," along the Duchesne River, following just behind the Salt Lake Company. The Provo Company never did reach the Green River, but it may have traveled further east than what has normally been assumed to be around present-day Myton Bench. Other histories that mention these travels do not note that the Salt Lake Company made it to Ashley Valley and that between the two parties they had a good idea as to what that region was like. One could speculate what may have occurred

<sup>8</sup> Journal History, August 25, 27, 1861, p. 1.

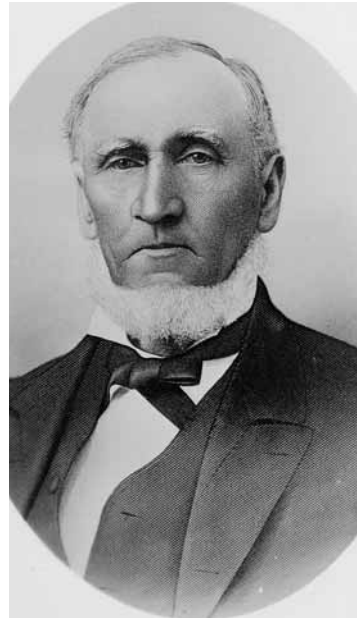
<sup>9</sup> *Deseret News*, September 11, 1861; Journal History, August 29, 1861, p. 1.

differently had the travels not been made in late summer when the sun had scorched the prairie grass brown, but the party saw little need to continue in search of arable lands in that “barren desert country.” Difficult travel, inhospitable climate, and land of “light color’d clay” and saleratus (an alkali, used by some pioneers for cooking) undoubtedly drove the company to its conclusions.

It is also unclear just when and where the two companies met. By September 10, one week into the expedition, the Provo Company still “could not see anything of the company from Salt Lake.” The two groups may have met the next day, probably near the remains of Fort Robidoux, since the journal mentions the Salt Lake Company and their travels down the Duchesne and to the Green Rivers. Additional details are unavailable perhaps in part because the end of the entry for that day is illegible. We do know that the two parties were together on September 12, the day Levi Stewart and Van Etten set out to deliver the express to Brigham Young. Fortunately, the journal kept by Nuttall and the letter written to Brigham Young together provide a clearer picture of these details than would otherwise be the case.

L. John Nuttall was one of the younger members of the party, yet the only one to keep a daily account of the travels.<sup>10</sup> Born on July 6, 1834, in Liverpool, England, he and his family converted to Mormonism in 1850 before immigrating to Utah and settling in Provo in 1852. He resided in Provo, Kanab, and Salt Lake City and became quite prominent in these communities through military, civic, and church activity. He is probably best known for the calling he held for over twelve years as private secretary and confidant to John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, presidents of the LDS church. Nuttall died in 1905 at the age of 71.<sup>11</sup>

His journals from this little-known expedition are published here for the



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

***Jesse W. Fox, Sr., pictured here, and Thomas Rhoades probably led “Salt Lake Company,” one of two exploring parties to the Uinta Basin, September 1861. Fox was surveyor-general for the Utah Territory and a schoolteacher.***

<sup>10</sup> Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1941), 3: 285, speculates that Nuttall was secretary, or recorder, of the expedition, though this is uncertain.

<sup>11</sup> Clarence G. Jensen, “A Biographical Study of Leonard John Nuttall, Private Secretary to Presidents John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962). His personal diaries (twenty-six handwritten notebooks) and correspondence are housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.



**Leonard John Nuttall kept a journal of the 1861 exploring expedition to the Uinta Basin. Later served as private secretary to several LDS Church presidents, served as superintendent of territorial schools, and appointed probate and county clerk for Utah County.**

first time.<sup>12</sup> The journal's succinct entries may whet the reader's appetite for more, but for their briefness they are remarkably revealing of the land and route taken. It seems remarkable how many place names are mentioned in the diary—an indication that the party must have been somewhat familiar with the reports of earlier explorers and traders who had traversed the country as well as maps drawn of the region. The journal certainly reveals the land to be harsh and uninviting: freezing temperatures; thin, alkali soil; nothing but "a succession of broken sand hills." Readers will get some sense of the difficulty the party experienced, but the journal contains little in the way of human emotion or reflection. Instead, it is precise and matter-of-fact—a style that characterized Nuttall's well known diaries from his later years.

The original pages of this "pencil diary" are housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Since they are fragile from age, they are kept in a protective plastic covering. The bot-

tom of each page appears to have been burned, which makes the bottom lines of the text either illegible or reduced to nothing. I have marked those places in the journal with an explanation in brackets: [*rest of the page destroyed*], [*illegible*], etc. Editor's comments within brackets have been italicized; editorial extensions of the text, which are bracketed, are not. Insertions made above or below the text are indicated within carats: ^ ^. A strikeout line through words or passages indicate those instances where Nuttall struck a line through the text. Original spelling and punctuation are retained. Day, month, and year are highlighted in bold. Page numbers in the diary and the letter are in brackets.

The second document is a letter from Jesse W. Fox, James W. Cummings, and Thomas Rhoads to Brigham Young, September 12, 1861, written as a general report of the land and its suitability for settlement. The journal briefly mentions this letter: "Bro<sup>s</sup> Levi Stewart & Van Etten started to G[reat]. S[alt]. L[ake]. City with an Express to Brigham Young." Biographical information for each author is noted in footnotes as their

<sup>12</sup> Gary Lee Walker included a transcription of the journal as an appendix of his dissertation, but he provides only a cursory treatment of the expedition and makes no attempt to provide annotation. See his "A History of Fort Duchesne," 1:15–17 and 2:440–46.

names appear either in the journal or in the letter to Brigham Young. The letter is available in microfilm in Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence at the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Editorial procedure is the same as with the journal.

## THE JOURNAL OF L. JOHN NUTTALL

[58]**Aug**<sup>13</sup> **31st 1861** Rec[eive]d Orders from Bro Ja[me]s W Cummings,<sup>14</sup> to fit up & proceed to Explore Uinta Valley. & Start on Tuesday Sept 3rd, 1861.<sup>15</sup>

**Tuesday Sept. 3rd**<sup>16</sup> Left home. about 11 Oclock, A.M in Company with Col [William B.] Pace<sup>17</sup> & Bro Ja[me]s W. Loveless.<sup>18</sup> with a Horse<sup>19</sup> each & one pack mule & travelled as far as Wall's Ranch<sup>20</sup> 18<sup>21</sup> miles. camp'd for the Night & found our company numbered 11 men & 16 Horses & mule[s] eat supper & retired to rest.

**Wednesday Sept 4th** Arose at day-break, morning pleasant, rather cold through the night. broke camp about 8 O'clock A.M. & travelled up<sup>22</sup>

<sup>13</sup> MS: "Aug" written over "Sept".

<sup>14</sup> James Willard Cummings (1819–1883) was one of the "chief men" of the expedition, according to George W. Bean. See George W. Bean, *Autobiographical Sketch*, typescript, MSS 1038, Box 1, Folder 3, p. 65, L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. He served as a captain of one hundred in Orson Pratt's pioneer company in 1847. During the Utah War of 1857, accompanied by Robert T. Burton and seventy men, Cummings went east to protect Utah-bound emigrants and to observe the movements of Johnston's army. See Andrew Jenson, Comp., *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd Ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), 59.

<sup>15</sup> MS: "3rd" written over "4th".

<sup>16</sup> MS: "3" written over "4".

<sup>17</sup> William Bryan Pace (1832–1907) converted to the LDS church and settled with his family in Nauvoo in 1840. In 1846, as a boy of only fourteen years, Pace, accompanied by his father, became a member of the Mormon Battalion as a drummer. He served as a colonel in the Utah militia in command of the Provo Military District. See *Diary of William Bryan Pace and biography of his father, James Pace* (typescript made by Brigham Young University Library from the original, 1941). Payson, Utah, was named after his father.

<sup>18</sup> James Washington Loveless (1828–89) and his family moved to Missouri in 1833 as recent converts of the LDS church. In 1851 he immigrated to Utah and settled in Provo where he acquired a homestead and took up farming. He was commissioned as captain in the territorial militia in 1854 and took an active part in the Walker (1853) and Blackhawk (1865–68) Wars. Active in church affairs, he became bishop of the Provo 2nd Ward in 1876 and served in that position until his death. See Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1914), 4:658; also *Autobiography of John Loveless* typescript (1962), L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

<sup>19</sup> MS: "Horse" written over illegible word.

<sup>20</sup> William Wall's cattle ranch was established at the head of Provo Canyon. His son-in-law George Washington Bean, a member of the Uinta Valley exploring party who had settled in Round Valley, Wasatch County, sold him property in the area in 1860. Wall became presiding Elder and namesake of the new community, Wallsburg. See Jessie Embury, *A History of Wasatch County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996), 26–28.

<sup>21</sup> MS: "18" written over "22".

<sup>22</sup> MS: "up" written over "about".



Daniels Creek<sup>23</sup> about 4 miles & campd for [rest of the page destroyed] [59] creek banks very steep. ^Kanyon^ not bad to make a good road so far.

Stayed one hour & Started ahead again. travel'd about 4<sup>24</sup> miles & camp,d for the night, very hard traveling, no trail in a great many places. Peter Wentz<sup>25</sup> lost his gun. John Turners Mare fell down & would have soon died had not some<sup>26</sup> of the comp[an]y gone to her assistance. eat supper & retired to rest. very tired.

**Thursday Sept 5th** Arose at day-break. found all the Horses, John Turner<sup>27</sup> & Alex Wilkins<sup>28</sup> went back & found P. Wentzs gun. broke camp about 1/2 past 7 O'clock & travell'd over a still worse road being some times on the creek & then half way up the mountain [illegible] about 5 miles & camp'd for [rest of the page destroyed] [60] same ^as before^ about 3 O'clock struck up a small kanyon<sup>29</sup> to the left of the road & traveled up<sup>30</sup> to the ridge where we could look down into Strawberry Valley travel,d down ~~on~~ the mountain into the Valley which is about 20<sup>31</sup> miles long & 2<sup>32</sup> ^to 5^ Wide, plenty of Timber all around Good Grass & Water, as pretty a valley as I ever saw. traveld down the West side 2 miles & Camp,d ^at 6 Oclock^. found a Stake that the P.P.E Comp 7<sup>33</sup> had set & found we had traveld 43 miles from Provo.

**Friday Sept 6th 1861** Got up at 1/2 past 5 Oclock. rather cloudy very cold in the night. Ice 1/2 in[ch] thick<sup>34</sup> in a Tin cup, broke camp at 8 O'clock & traveld down Strawberry Valley to ^within about 2 miles of ^

<sup>23</sup> Named for an early settler, Aaron Daniels, Daniels Creek originates seventeen miles southeast of Heber City and drains northwest through Daniels Canyon. The first settlers of the Uinta Basin used Daniels Canyon—today the route of U.S. Highway 40—for cattle trails to Ashley Valley. See John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names: A Comprehensive Guide to the Origins of Geographic Names: A Compilation* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 102.

<sup>24</sup> MS: "4" written over "6".

<sup>25</sup> Peter Mastin Wentz (1831–1908) converted to Mormonism in St. Louis, Missouri, and immigrated to Utah in 1855. A longtime resident of Provo, where he first made his home in 1857, Wentz was active in business and civic affairs, was elected to the Provo City Council in 1876, and served as bishop of the Provo 4th Ward for eighteen years before his death in 1908. See Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:734–35.

<sup>26</sup> MS: "s" in "some" written over illegible letter.

<sup>27</sup> John W. Turner (1832–95) came to Salt Lake City in 1847. He served as city councilor, city Marshall deputy Marshall, deputy-Sheriff, and Sheriff of Provo. See Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892–1904), 3:100, 4:125–27.

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Wilkins (1834–1902) was born in Canada and settled in Provo following his conversion to the Mormon church. From 1891–93, he was bishop of the Eden Ward of the St. Joseph Stake in Arizona.

<sup>29</sup> Possibly Center Canyon, though the company probably exited Daniels Canyon further upstream.

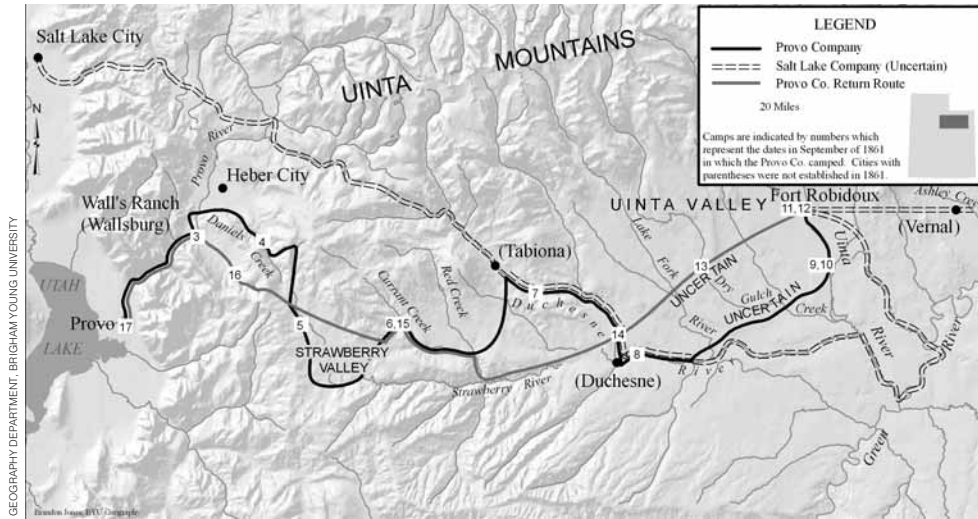
<sup>30</sup> MS: "up" written over "to".

<sup>31</sup> MS: "20" written over "10".

<sup>32</sup> MS: "2" written over "3".

<sup>33</sup> It is unclear if this refers to the Salt Lake Company led by Thomas Rhoads or another group. The other references to the Salt Lake Company are recorded under the dates September 7, 10, and 11.

<sup>34</sup> The climate contributes to the inhospitality of the region. The basin lies within a rain shadow from the Wasatch Range to the west, the Uinta Mountains to the north, and the Tavaputs Plateau to the south. Average rainfall is seven inches, and temperatures vary from scorching hot in the summer to minus 30 degrees in the winter. Also traveling through the basin in September, the Dominguez-Escalante party found the cold to be an inconvenience as well. Father Escalante recorded that "it was so cold that even the water which stood close to the fire all night was frozen by morning." See, Chavez, *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal*, 60.



the S[outh] end & noon'd Stayed one hour travel,d about 3 miles down the Valley & Kanyon & then up a small Ravine [illegible] over ^2 of^ the ^3^ ridges & down Curr<sup>35</sup> [rest of the page destroyed]  
 [61] **Saturday Sep 7** Arose at day Break, clear morning, broke campy at past 8<sup>36</sup> O'clock. travell,d up onto the ridge & followed the same into a Easterly direction for about 7 miles to a tolerable sized creek, ^East North &^ then in a N.E. direction over the Cedar hills. the hills to the North covered thickly with cedar. a ^Struck a^ good plain trail about 10 miles from the creek & followed ^which we named Deep Creek<sup>37</sup>^ then up the ridge again. Struck a plain trail about 10 miles, the hills to the north covererd thickly with cedar,<sup>38</sup> then in a North & N.E direction ^8 miles^ to the North fork of Duchane's [Duchesne] River.<sup>39</sup> decent from the mountain very steep, noon,d at 3, O'clock. stayed about one hour ^found the S[alt] Lake Compy had gone down the [illegible] due East^ & traveld down the creek 8 miles. this creek is about 2/3 the size of Provo River. good land [illegible] the bottom, plenty of cotton-wood [rest of the page destroyed]

**Map showing the route of the two 1861 exploring groups.**

<sup>35</sup> Probably Currant Creek, which originates at Pass Creek on the south side of the Uinta Mountains and flows into the Duchesne River. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 99.

<sup>36</sup> MS: "8" written over "7".

<sup>37</sup> This river was probably Red Creek, not Deep Creek. By September 7, the party had probably traveled further east than Deep Creek, which is west of Currant Creek. Deep Creek originates four miles east of present-day Strawberry Reservoir and drains southeast through Deep Creek Canyon into Current Creek. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 106.

<sup>38</sup> Pinon-Juniper cover is common in the region east of Red Creek, appropriately called Cedar Mountain.

<sup>39</sup> MS: "River" written over illegible word. Nuttall confused the north fork of the Duchesne with the Duchesne River itself, which drains southeast into the Green River. The party may have come to the Duchesne not far from present-day Tabiona. There remains some confusion regarding the origins of the river's name. Maps from the 1850s show this stretch of the river as the Duchesne Fork and downstream it was known as the Uintah River, or present-day Duchesne River. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 117-18.

[62] **Sunday Sept 8th 1861** Morning clear. broke camp at 1/2 past 7 O'clock & travel,d down the Kanyon, ~~^illegible^ South^~~ East ^& S.E^ for 10<sup>40</sup> miles ^crossed a large River. named Rock River then still down the fork 5 miles^ & noon,d. stayed about one hour & took onto the ridge about 1 mile & down into Uinta Valley – struck the same River<sup>41</sup> again & travel,d down 14 miles & camp,d for the night, very poor land on this River,<sup>42</sup> no grass, some cottonwoods on the River<sup>43</sup> ~~about~~ which is at this place about 1/3 larger then Provo River, the benches on each side of the River are entirely barren. A light color'd clay ~~where there is any flat it is white with Saleratus.~~ Retired. To rest –

**Monday Sep' 9th 1861** Morning<sup>44</sup> clear. broke camp at 1/4<sup>45</sup> past 8 & travel,d down the river ^East^ about 8 miles Struck another fork which we named ~~illegible~~ ^Antelope^ River<sup>46</sup> ^& forded the same^ ~~then illegible~~ miles which [rest of the page destroyed] [63] North & N.E. 3 miles & came to a dry creek<sup>47</sup> cottonwoods on the bottom then Still further on over Sandy bottoms & ~~illegible~~ no grass for 12 miles to Uinta River, all the land we have travel,d over in the valley is a barren desert country, no water for the last 15 miles, no grass, no timber, only on the streams, which is Willows & Cottonwoods. very warm country.

retired to rest at 9 O'clock.

**Tuesday Sept 10/61** Arose at Sun rise, morning clear, could not see anything of the company from Salt Lake. some of the Boys made a Smoke to let them know where we was<sup>48</sup> stayed in camp all day. some of the boys went out to explore the country.

**Wednesday Sept 11/61** arose a Sun Rise morning clear & pleasant ~~illegible~~ & ~~illegible~~ went out to [rest of the page destroyed] [64] down the river. this afternoon went out exploring up the river about 5 miles found very little good land of any kind, for where there is no rocks on the ground there is Saleratus.<sup>49</sup> There might be from one to two Acres found in a place that would do to farm but we did not see more than 10<sup>50</sup> acres of grass land all put together. there is considerable Pine timber on this River for about 5 miles from the mouth of the Kanyon also cottonwood, willows &c. I sup-

<sup>40</sup> MS: "10" written over "15".

<sup>41</sup> MS: "River" written over illegible word.

<sup>42</sup> MS: "River" written over "stream".

<sup>43</sup> MS: "River" written over "stream".

<sup>44</sup> MS: "Morning" written over "Arose".

<sup>45</sup> MS: "?" written over "8".

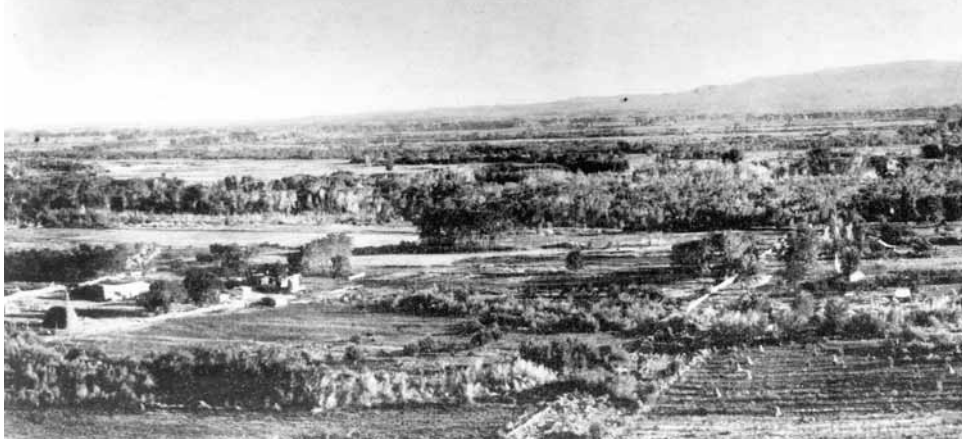
<sup>46</sup> The name apparently stuck; in the early 1900s, settlers named their community Antelope, one mile southeast of Bridgeland, after the river. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 9-10.

<sup>47</sup> Probably Dry Gulch Creek.

<sup>48</sup> MS: "was" written over "where".

<sup>49</sup> Soil saturated with saleratus, a type of baking powder or soda of the alkali group, is not particularly conducive to agriculture. Pioneers would frequently, however, use saleratus for cooking purposes, such as making soda biscuits. See Donna Toland Smart, ed. *Mormon Midwife: The 1846-1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997), 62, 96-97, and Kate B. Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1940), 2: 499.

<sup>50</sup> MS: "10" written over "15".



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pose that 50 families could sustain themselves in this country providing they could scatter out along the rivers & farm all the land.<sup>51</sup> short scrubby Cedars grow down to the foot of the mountains to the north. Bro Fox<sup>52</sup> & Cummings concluded to send in an express to Brigham [Young] telling him the nature of the country, the Salt Lake Comp 7—travel down Duchanes [Duchesne] River [illegible] where it [illegible] into Green [rest of the page destroyed]

[65] **Thursday Sept 12/61** Arose at <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> past <sup>5</sup>/<sub>53</sub> O'clock. Clear Morning. Bro Levi Stewart<sup>54</sup> & Van Etten<sup>55</sup> started to G[reat]. S[alt]. L[ake]. City with an Express to Brigham Young.<sup>56</sup>

Bro Fox & several of the brethren went out & surveyed a plot of Ground. I went onto the bench & took a sketch of the country, afternoon went out with the Surveyor eat supper & made arrangements for starting for home in the morning

**Ashley Valley, located in eastern portion of Utah's Uinta Basin.**

**First visited by Spanish Catholic Fathers Francisco Atanazio**

**Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante in 1776 followed by fur trappers in 1820s. Settled in 1872.**

<sup>51</sup> Only about three percent of the land within the present-day counties of Duchesne and Uintah is suitable for cultivation. Even arable lands have low yield "owing to drainage problems in the soil." See Philip L. Fradkin, *Sagebrush Country: Land and the American West* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1989), 176.

<sup>52</sup> Jesse W. Fox (1819–94) converted to Mormonism in 1844 when he settled in Nauvoo and later in Utah in 1849. Educated at the Jefferson County Seminary, New York, Fox served for many years as the surveyor-general of Utah, surveying many of the settlements in the territory, including the sites of Salt Lake City, Provo, Ogden, Manti, Fillmore, and Logan. He accompanied Brigham Young on several exploration trips to select settlement sites. See Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977): 235.

<sup>53</sup> MS: "5" written over "6".

<sup>54</sup> Levi Stewart (1812–76) was born in Edwardsville, Illinois, and joined the LDS church in 1837, when he moved to Missouri, later to Nauvoo, and finally to the West with the body of the saints. See Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 245. Stewart was reportedly one of the "chief men" of the 1861 expedition. See Bean, *Autobiography Sketch*, p. 65. He was later appointed bishop of an LDS congregation in Kanab in 1870.

<sup>55</sup> Elisha W. Van Etten (dates unknown) apparently raised sheep for a living. From the diaries of Hosea Stout we learn that he had participated in the Utah War of 1857. See Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diaries of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2: 638. Though with Bean a member of the 1852 expedition, Van Etten apparently left no record of either trip.

<sup>56</sup> Stewart and Van Etten arrived at Salt Lake City on September 15 and reported their findings to Brigham Young. Upon receipt of their report, Young gave orders to John Lytle to call back a party assigned to "open a road through the hills from Parley's Park by way of Rhoads' Rancho, Kamas Prairie, to that valley, a distance of about one hundred miles from Great Salt Lake City." Members of this party included John M. Lytle, Mosiah L. Hancock, William P. Lytle, Joseph Harmon, Joseph McKae, and John J. Fry, who began their assignment on September 9. See *Journal History*, September 9, 15, 1861; *Deseret News*, September 11, 25, 1861.

**Friday Sept 13/61** Arose at 5 Oclock pleasant morning some of the brethren put 2 Sacks of Flour & 2 sacks of Crackers, ~~some~~ 3 Tin plates some Knives & forks, into a tree for the Indians. broke camp at 9 Oclock & travel,d W & SW for 10 miles & struck a dry creek very steep ascent onto the hill again, about 3 miles came [*illegible*] anouther dry creek, then 3 miles [*rest of the page destroyed*] [66] from Uinta River. 2 of the boys went out & Shot an Antelope & brought it into Camp. which was the first fresh meat we had on the trip

**Saturday Sept 14/61** arose at day break morning pleasant broke camp at ~~2~~ <sup>past</sup> 9. Oclock. & travld S.W. & W for 11 miles to north fork of Duchanes River. & noon,d<sup>57</sup> at 1/2 past 12. at 2 O,clock forded<sup>58</sup> the River, ascended the bench, very steep & travel,d over Cedar Ridges & hollows ^to the S.W.^ for 7 miles, to Lake fork<sup>59</sup> ^& campd very poor grass^ very rough road, ever since we left Uinta River nothing but Cedar Ridges. & Ravines, large round Rocks & Sand, entirely barren a little while after we camp,d some of boys made a fire which caught in the grass, which made us move camp in a hurry. & burnt up some of the [*illegible*], 2 Pistol scabbard<sup>60</sup> [*rest of the page destroyed*] [67] took a trail up Antelope River for G. S. L. City. so we were left alone again except Bro<sup>s</sup> Fox & Andrus who accompanied us ~~to~~.<sup>61</sup>

**Sunday Sept 15/61** arose at 1/4 to 5 Oclock Morning Clear & very cold broke camp at 7 O.clock & traveld up a wash between the Cedar Ridges ^N.W^ for about 3 miles, then took to the Ridge West for<sup>62</sup> 18 miles & struck Deep Creek about 3 miles below where we crossed it. when we went out Started out again in one hour & traveld west for 8 miles & campd on Currant Creek at the same place we camp,d going out. Found, Tabby & Antero's band of Indians<sup>63</sup> camp,d on the creek about a [?] of a mile from our camp. Several of them came to camp & talked with Geo Bean<sup>64</sup> [*illegible*] all felt well towards us being [*rest of the page destroyed*]

<sup>57</sup> MS: "nooned" written over illegible word.

<sup>58</sup> MS: "forded" written over "started".

<sup>59</sup> Named after either an early trapper named Lake or for the numerous bodies of water the river drains, the river drains into the Duchesne. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 219.

<sup>60</sup> A scabbard is a sheath for a sword or dagger or bayonet; also a synonym for holster.

<sup>61</sup> They were no longer traveling with the Salt Lake company. This is an indication that Fox and Andrus were probably members of the S.L. company.

<sup>62</sup> MS: "for" written over illegible word.

<sup>63</sup> Tabby-to-kwanah (1798–1902) and Anthrow, usually spelled Antero (dates unknown), were chiefs of the Yampant Utes, whose home was in the Uinta Basin. Tabby died at the age of 104 years. Brigham Young reportedly claimed that it was Antero who repeatedly encouraged him to make a settlement in the region. See *Journal History*, August 27, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> George Washington Bean (1831–97) was a scout, Native American interpreter, and prominent Mormon. As one of the first settlers of Utah Valley in the spring of 1849, Bean "took an interest in acquiring a knowledge of the Utah Language, & being almost constantly in Company with some one of them I soon learned to speak tolerably well with them ..." See Bean, *Autobiographical Sketch*, p. 6. A member of the 1852 expedition led by Indian sub-agent Stephen B. Rose, Bean left an account of his travels, including his contact with the Hobbie Creek Band of Ute Indians on February 22, 1852. The party ran into members of the band four days later, and "found it to be Tabby & Grospline [or Grosprene] busy building



[68] **Monday Sept 16/61** Arose at 5 O'clock morning clear, very cold last night, frose Ice in a cup. Broke camp at 8 Oclock & travel,d our outward trail for 6 miles, ~~then struck~~ ^struck a cutoff & travel,d 4 miles to^ Strawber[r]y Valley up the vall[e]y for 8<sup>65</sup> miles. & noon,d at 1/4 past 12. Stayed 1 hour & 1/2 & traveld to the Head of Daniels Creek 3<sup>66</sup> miles, then onto the mountains to the west 3 miles on to the divide then down the ravines & canyons 7 miles to Round Valley.<sup>67</sup> camp,d at 9. O'clock when coming up one of the Side hills E. Pecks horse kickd me on the knee which lamed me so that it was very difficult to get to camp.

**Tuesday Sept 17/61** Arose at 7 O'clock Morning clear. all hands very tired broke camp at 9 O'clock & travel,d down Round Valley north 8 miles to Walls Ranch. eat [*rest of the page destroyed*] [69] ~~then travel,d home~~ stay,d 1 hour & arived home at 6 O'clock. found all well.

## LETTER TO BRIGHAM YOUNG

Uinta Valley Sept 12<sup>th</sup> 1861  
Prest. Young

We express to you by Levi Stewart and E. W. Vannetten a brief report of our explorations in this part of the Territory. the Salt Lake Company and accompanied by Father Rhoads<sup>68</sup> crossed the divide between Provo and the Uinta Tributaries on Thursday Sept 5<sup>th</sup> (The Provo Co. passing over through Strawberry Valley and falling in our rear) We followed down the principal stream a distance of over 100 miles to its mouth at Green River,<sup>69</sup> leaving Uinta valley proper to our left which lies about south of Bridger Fort and about 30 miles N. W. from the confluence<sup>70</sup> of Green and Uinta rivers. The surrounding country on the principal stream

pens to to [*sic*] snare Antelope[.]” The Utes told the party that it was a two day journey to the Uinta River and one of Tabby’s brothers served as guide to Fort Robidoux. See Bean Journal, February 26, 27, 1852. For a brief account of Bean’s life, see Harry Craig Dees, “George Bean: Early Mormon Explorer,” *BYU Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 147–62.

<sup>65</sup> MS: “8” written over “7”.

<sup>66</sup> MS: “3” written over “2”.

<sup>67</sup> Located four miles southeast of Deer Creek in Wasatch County on present-day U-282, Round Valley’s earlier Indian name was Little Warm Valley. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 388.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Rhoads (1794–1869) was guide on the 1861 exploring expedition. As a young man, he fought in the War of 1812, moved to Illinois in 1820, and converted to Mormonism in 1835. A year before the main body of the saints moved west, Rhoads led his family to California, and later to Utah Territory, where he became treasurer of the first grand jury, county judge, school regent, and counselor in the Salt Lake Stake presidency. Tradition claims he had been appointed by Brigham Young to find an ancient Spanish gold mine—the “Lost Rhoads Mine”—in the Uinta Mountains to mine gold for the LDS church. Rhoads grazed livestock in what was then known as Rhoads Valley, the site of present-day Kamas. See J. Kenneth Davies, “Thomas Rhoads, Forgotten Mormon Pioneer of 1846,” *Nebraska History* 64 (Spring 1983): 81–95.

<sup>69</sup> The “principal stream” was then known as the Uintah River, but after 1875 it became known as the Duchesne River. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 117–18

<sup>70</sup> MS: the letter “l” in “confluence” written over illegible letter.



**Heber Valley, one of many back valleys located in the Wasatch Mountain Range. Settled in 1859 and home to many future Uinta Basin settlers.**

that we followed down is a succession of broken sand hills, strongly impregnated with alkali, growing nothing except scrub sage and greasewood,<sup>71</sup> not a particle of range except the river bottom which varies from the width of the river to some 160 Rods wide; this bottom is made from the wash of the sand hills growing salt and [1] alkali grass and a limited, inferior quality, of cottonwood, too scrubby for house logs. From the mouth of Uinta we followed up Green River<sup>72</sup> some 10 miles and then passed across into Uinta valley and camped near the ruins of Roubidou's Fort.<sup>73</sup> This place which has been so highly recommended and in fact the only place that we have found that will admit of a limited settlement, includes the bottoms of Uinta river and Ashley's Fork. The timber on the Uinta river is pine extending into the valley and on Ashley's Fork a 2d growth of dwarf cottonwood, and on the mountain side dwarf cedar. The surrounding country on the east and west is a broken sage desert, affording no range for stock. The only grass lies adjacent<sup>74</sup> to the creeks. The farming land is superficial and is detached, varying from one to ten acres in a place,

<sup>71</sup> Greasewood is a shrub similar to sagebrush.

<sup>72</sup> The Green River, the largest river the exploring party came in contact with, originates in the Wyoming and joins the Colorado River in southeastern Utah. Where it received the name Green River is unclear, though John W. Van Cott suggests several reasons. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 166–67.

<sup>73</sup> Fort Robidoux, also known as Fort Uintah and Fort Winty, was located at the junction of the Uintah and Whiterocks rivers. It was founded in 1832 after Antoine Robidoux bought out the Reed Trading Post that had been in operation at that site since 1828. In 1837 Antoine left an inscription in the Book Cliff Mountains "Antoine Robidoux passed here 13 November 1837, to establish a trading house on the River Green or White." The trading post established in late 1837 at the junction of the Duchesne and Green Rivers was also known as Fort Robidoux. See John D. Barton, *Buckskin Entrepreneur: Antoine Robidoux and the Fur Trade of the Uintah Basin 1824-1844* (Vernal, Utah: Oakfield Publishing Company, 1996); and Doris Karren Burton, *A History of Uintah County*, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Uintah County Commission, 1996), 62–66.

<sup>74</sup> MS: the letters "ce" in "adjacent" written over illegible letters.

underlaid with cobble rock. These detached pieces of farming land are separated by wide streaks of cobble rock, which lie upon the surface and constitute 9/10 of the area of the Uinta valley.<sup>75</sup> The whole country appears strongly impregnated with alkali and salt. Our opinion is that the inducement to locate a settlement here for farming and grazing purposes [2] is not at all insiting [inciting], still not knowing but policy may dictate the formation of a settlement here under the circumstances as above described, we shall remain here a few days to recruit our animals and make a general survey of the valley. That you may be enabled to get a more minute history of the facilities of the country we have choses Bro. Levi Stewart the bearer of this report.

We remain yours in the  
 New and everlasting Covenant  
 Jesse W Fox  
 J W Cummings  
 Thomas Rhoads

P.S. We are all well and in good spirits.

Stewart and Van Etten arrived in Salt Lake City on September 15 with the report, and Young immediately decided to call back the undertaking. It is unclear if he hoped to colonize the region in future years, but for now he was content to postpone settlement. In any case, railroad officials in Denver opted for a northern route for the proposed transcontinental railroad through southern Wyoming, which abrogated the threat of gentiles taking over the basin. Another group, the local Ute Indians, would instead occupy its space, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs Henry Martin suggested creating a Ute Indian reservation there.<sup>76</sup> With the approval of Brigham Young, Abraham Lincoln signed an Executive Order on October 3, 1861, designating a large portion of the land for a reservation.<sup>77</sup>

Those who have made a living off the land in the Uinta Basin are certainly aware of its volatile climate, barren landscape, and inhospitable terrain, as described in these early documents. For years before white men entered the region, only a small number of Uinta-Ats, who considered the basin valuable

<sup>75</sup> George Washington Bean gave a similar assessment of the land in February 1852: "The finest timber was had but not much land in a body suitable for cultivation. Water privileges were Excellent. Game plenty as deer antelope rabbits & sage-hens." See Bean Journal, February 29, 1852.

<sup>76</sup> *Deseret News*, September 28, 1861. This is what Bean said of it: "The Govt officials got excited & hurried off a petition to Washington asking for all that country to be declared an Indian Reservation for the Utes, which the Sec of Interior immediately did do, thus the Mormons were left out in this case" See Bean, *Autobiographical Sketch*, p. 65.

<sup>77</sup> The U.S. Congress confirmed Lincoln's Order on May 5, 1864. The Utes at first refused to live on the reservation—they understood well the scarcity of food and its volatile climate. But with Mormon cajoling and gift offerings, Ute leaders finally agreed. See O'Neil, "A History of the Ute Indian of Utah until 1890," 51; Floyd O'Neil, "George Washington Bean," *Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1820–1920*, Clyde Milner II and Floyd O'Neil, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 96–98.

primarily as hunting ground, could sustain themselves. Euro Americans who finally established themselves in the region did so only after great effort and hardship. This is what Philip Fradkin wrote of those who made this region home: "Prosperity was their perpetual illusion. A difficult, sparse land was the reality."<sup>78</sup>

These two documents give us an early flavor of this landscape. The pencil diary kept by Nuttall and the letter signed by Fox, Cummings, and Rhoads certainly provide some of the earliest perceptions of Mormon pioneers of the basin. These perspectives make it easier to understand why the Uinta Basin was one of the last regions to be settled in the state. There is also some value in retelling the story of the two-week long exploring expedition. Theirs was a trek of long miles, fatigue and extreme climates into virtually uncharted and unfamiliar country known to whites only through reports and hearsay. This was yet another episode a movement of expansion—expansion that characterized the settlement of Utah and the West in general.

<sup>78</sup> Fradkin, *Sagebrush Country*, 175–78.



## The Utah State Training School: Its Founding and Development

By CHRISTINE FRAIZER

**A**mong many in today's society, mental retardation creates a fear of uncertainty. Those individuals exhibiting abnormal behaviors we do not understand, frighten us. Our historical

response tells a story of a people who were ostracized; they were the "village idiots," "the simple Simons," "unworthy of life." People lacking in intelligence and skills have been viewed with less value in a world that focuses on the best and brightest. The result of this attitude has led to systematic brutality and alienation.

Nazi Germany, for example, allowed sterilization to control the proliferation of the unfit in an ideology that sought to exterminate the mentally inferior. Euthanasia assured national health in Germany.

Nazi Germany was far from alone in its aversion of the mentally retarded. Prevention was vital in the philosophy haunting turn of century America. Mendelian genetics raised a concern for the "purity of the gene pool" and studies such as Henry Herbert Goddard's survey of the Kallikak Family published in 1912 linked mental deficiency to "pauperism, insanity and crime." Goddard, president of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded, concluded that "degeneracy was the result of the defective mentality and bad blood."<sup>1</sup> Feeble-minds were problems both aesthetic—whether a person was clean or filthy especially in relation to toileting—and mathematical.<sup>2</sup> Sterilization was the preventive solution.

Goddard was a second-generation champion of the American Association for the Study of

**Dr. Hubert H. Ramsay,  
Superintendent of the Utah State  
Training School (1932-1950),  
American Fork.**

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Herbert Goddard, *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912).

<sup>2</sup> Phillip M. Ferguson, *Abandoned to Their Fate: Social Policy and Practice Toward Severely Retarded People in America, 1820-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 150.



the Feeble-Minded, which was founded in 1876 to discuss “all questions related to idiots and feeble-minded persons.”<sup>3</sup> The medical doctors that comprised the tightly knit organization figure predominantly in the history of Utah and people with mental retardation. Characters representing major proponents of an institutional program in Utah — Henry H. Goddard, George L. Wallace, B. O. Whitten, Charles S. Little, Alexander Johnson and Hubert H. Ramsay — were all members of the American Association.

Progressive thinking in America followed the lead of the Association in terms of citing mental illness and deficiency as a societal burden, with one exception. Progressives tended to look beyond the pathological causes of mental deficiency and believed environment in tandem with low intelligence fostered deviant behavior.<sup>4</sup> A person of lower intelligence by birth was more susceptible to unusual behavior because *she didn't know better* or *he was easily led astray*. Inherent mental deficiency and financial and moral poverty were preludes to deviant behavior and required the stewardship of a virtuous society. Progressive beliefs fed into a national movement of mental hygienics dedicated to preventing the emergence of mental deficiency; their interest was a cleansing of society to avert serious mental disorder and its consequences to national prosperity.

The American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded was composed of scientists and medical doctors whose studies of mental deficiency complemented progressive ideas of prevention and rehabilitation, especially when the unwilling subjects were under the control of member medical doctors. The unified fronts of the Association and progressive hygienists merged and by 1926 there were forty-seven states with institutions for the study and prevention of the feeble-minded. Utah was close to conforming.

For the most part, sterilization was an accepted preventive measure nationally, and by 1926, Utah was one of twenty-three states with mandatory sterilization laws. In 1912, the Utah State Board of Insanity had recommended sterilization and, subsequently, instituted the operation for male inmates convicted of sexual crimes. The mandatory law Utah enacted in 1925 made it legal among a broader population to continue what had gone on for at least a decade: sterilization of any individual committed to a state institution, including the mental hospital and penal institutions. In the first year of the law's passage, thirty-eight uncontested operations were performed in the state.<sup>5</sup> Four years later the law was amended in the case of *Davis v. Walton*. The Utah Supreme Court unanimously upheld the law's constitutionality, but blocked the planned sterilization of state prisoner Esau

<sup>3</sup> James W. Trent, Jr., *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 163-65.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Murland Ricks, “Attitudes of Administrative and Professional Staff Personnel at the Utah State Training School Towards Sterilization” (Master of Social Work thesis, University of Utah, 1973), 14.

Walton, a petty thief suspected of sodomy. Walton won on appeal to halt a vasectomy because the state could not prove that criminal traits and sexual deviancy were inherited or transmissible.<sup>6</sup> The law was amended to limit the practice to the mentally deficient residing in public institutions based on their faulty heredity and consequent incapability of parenting.<sup>7</sup>

Housing of the feeble-minded was a major concern at the Utah State Hospital despite a mandate to allow admission of only the “truly insane” when the facility opened in 1885. Probate judges circumvented the rule from the start and by 1897 the growing number of feeble-minded individuals admitted prompted the first in a succession of pleas for a separate institution. The State Board of Insanity accepted a compromise in 1909 with the provision of a separate ward at the hospital for the feeble-minded and non-insane epileptics.<sup>8</sup>

By 1916, the feeble-minded constituted nearly 20 percent of the hospital’s population of 346 patients. George A. Hyde, MD, superintendent from 1916 until his death in 1922, wanted the feeble-minded removed from the hospital, especially the “higher grades” that were sources of juvenile delinquency, immorality and crime.<sup>9</sup> Hyde thought the less severely disabled belonged at home; he supported an institution separate from the State Hospital and built on a smaller scale for an estimated 20 percent of the mentally handicapped requiring custodial care. His hospital, thus, would be relieved of their burden.<sup>10</sup>

The mental hygiene philosophy was—almost simultaneously—making its impact on various segments of Utah’s inhabitants, particularly the



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

***American Fork Main Street, 1930s. The town celebrated when it was chosen as the site for the Utah State Training School.***

<sup>6</sup> *Davis v. Walton*, Utah Reports, 1929, Utah State Archives, microfiche, series 1481, box 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ricks, “Attitudes Towards Sterilization,” 14.

<sup>8</sup> Charles R. McKell, “The Utah State Hospital: A Study in the Care of the Mentally Ill,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 23 (October 1955), 314–15.

<sup>9</sup> Eleanor Skeen, “State Care of the Feeble-minded in Utah” (Master of Social Work thesis, University of Utah, 1943), 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.



UTAH STATE DEVELOPMENTAL CENTER, AMERICAN FORK

***Unidentified building on the campus of the Utah State Training School, a facility geared toward the training of the feeble-minded in trades or domestic chores, circa 1940s.***

younger General Board members of the national women's Relief Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS

church). The rising voices, many of which were trained in social welfare work, wanted a comprehensive program of social reform that supported national trends of separate institutions for the feeble-minded.

Longer serving members of the Relief Society, however, feared the potential social harm of the congregate. Susa Y. Gates, founder of the *Young Woman's Journal* and the *Relief Society Magazine*, declared such institutions demeaning to recipients and caregivers alike due to the loss of personal contact and responsibility. When some of the general board recommended the establishment of a home for the elderly and orphans, Gates protested. "We Latter-day Saints have no orphanages, alms house. We have always taken care of our poor, our aged and our orphans as families and as neighbors, while the state has provided houses for the incorrigible youth as well as the mentally imbalanced."<sup>11</sup> Gates preferred an insurance program for the members of the church that could help offset the expense of caring for aged and invalid family members. "But there is strong sentiment on the other side," she said. "The popular trend is in the other direction."<sup>12</sup> Gates' outspoken criticism was contrary to popular opinion, and she was all but dismissed from the magazines she helped to create. The former business manager of the *Relief Society Magazine*, Amy Brown Lyman, was named director and editor in Gates' place.

Amy Brown Lyman, a social worker by education, was active throughout her life in programs inside and outside of the LDS church that focused on social reform. She was the first director of the Relief Society Service Department, created in 1919, which was the "official child-placing agency of the church."<sup>13</sup> Four years later, in 1926, she became the first director of the Relief Society Social Service Department that introduced mental hygiene and child study into the realm of its social welfare programs.

<sup>11</sup> Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 78.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

Treatment of the feeble-minded was parcel to her agenda. Earlier, in 1923, she wrote to friend and fellow social worker Florence Hutsinpilar:

Since I saw you last, I have had some interesting experiences in connection with the feeble-minded and insane. Dr. Hyde, the superintendent of our mental hospital, who passed away recently, was a splendid psychologist as well as a medical man, and with the professor of psychology at the University of Utah, he was very much interested in studying his patients and treating them as scientifically as possible. He persuaded me to go down to the institution quite often to talk to patients they considered incurable with a view of helping to untangle their difficulties and straighten out some of their ideas.<sup>14</sup>

Lyman favored “intelligent and adequate care of the mentally ill and mentally deficient and for preventive constructive work” in the field of mental hygiene and she worked diligently for the establishment of the training school.<sup>15</sup> By 1926 the number of the feeble-minded at the State Hospital had doubled to 140. Similar to Hyde and mental hygienists nationally, Lyman believed the insane asylum was not the appropriate setting for them. The insane could not control their actions; the feeble-minded lacked common sense.

Lyman was active in the Utah Mental Hygiene Association and a professional acquaintance of Dr. George L. Wallace, Director of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene and Superintendent of the Wrentham State Hospital for the Feeble-Minded in Massachusetts. It probably took little effort on her part to persuade Wallace to visit Utah and to discuss the issue of mental retardation with state policy makers. Superintendents regularly took leave from their jobs to advocate their position in front of legislative assemblies, state universities, social workers, medical schools, business men’s associations (Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions), councils of women, and state meetings of King’s Daughters—an interdenominational service group affiliated in Utah with the Rotary Club. Utah was prime territory and Wallace advocated the same as what his state had done, which was to build a separate institution to prepare the feeble-minded for useful work in society. Wallace reminded lawmakers that Utah was one of only three states without a separate institution for its feeble-minded; he was all but preaching to the choir when he told the Utah State Mental Hygiene Society: “It behooves Utah to take intelligent self-interest in this problem of providing an institution for feeble-minded. It is not altogether a question of state pride; the social and economic cost to our State of neglecting to train this class is mounting rapidly.”<sup>16</sup>

B.O. Whitten, Superintendent of the State School for the Feeble-Minded in South Carolina, also took his appeal to the Utah State Conference on Social Work, asking them to consider mental disorders “in

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 105

<sup>15</sup> Amy Brown Lyman, *National Woman’s Relief Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Sketch, 1842-1931* (Salt Lake City: General Relief Society, 1931), 60.

<sup>16</sup> Skeen, “State Care of the Feeble-minded,” 24.



SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

**Aerial view of the Utah State Training School campus, American Fork, 1940. Student population in June 1940 was 731.**

the light of any other organic disturbance of the system, such as an attack of appendicitis.”<sup>17</sup> Feeble-

-mindedness was not curable, although the condition could be removed in the best interest of the whole, similarly to a diseased appendix. More and more voices were adding to the pack urging for a separate institution.

An editorial in *The Salt Lake Telegram* supported the vision of the Utah State Mental Hygiene Society: “Would it not be a fine thing if every organization and individual in this city should resolve, in starting the New Year, to make of this city a national example of moral purity and social orderliness? .... Our own opinion is that such a goal would be worthy of the best for which our city stands.”<sup>18</sup>

State mental hygienists could point to the socially progressive academic program at the University of Utah. The course catalogue listed Arthur Beeley, Professor of Social Technology and Social Education, and his course in Social Technology 131 – *Social Treatment of the Mentally Handicapped*. He was the local expert regarding the principles and administrative problems involved in the education, segregation and sterilization of the mentally disordered. His course focused on social case treatment, the mental hygiene movement, community organization and programs of prevention. Beeley later persuaded the future Utah State Training School (USTS) Superintendent, Hubert H. Ramsay, MD, to lecture for the University of Utah’s Department of Sociology Education. During the academic year 1935/1936, Ramsay’s adjunct teaching schedule included a class that addressed the medical, psychological and educational issues of the institutional training of feeble-minded children.<sup>19</sup>

The Relief Society pushed hard in concert with the mental hygiene movement. Similar to state hygiene groups nationally, the Relief Society held clinics that offered mental tests in addition to physical exams as a means of health screening and vocational guidance. Weekly progress reports

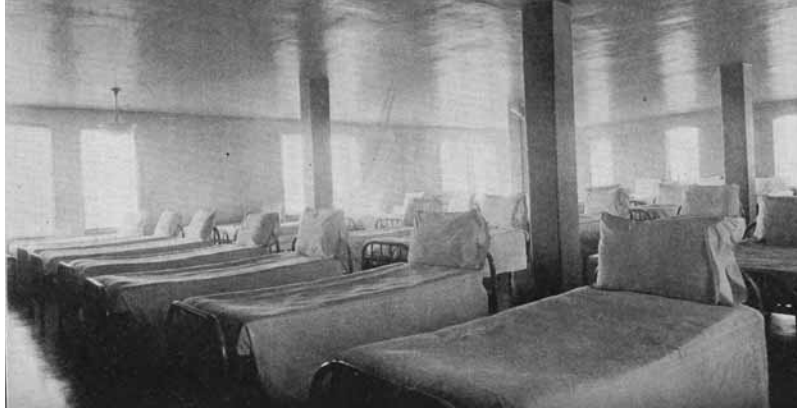
<sup>17</sup> *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1931.

<sup>18</sup> *Salt Lake Telegram*, December 28, 1927.

<sup>19</sup> University of Utah Catalogue, 1935/36, course, Education 150.



**Students lived in segregated dormitories. Shown here is the Dunn Dormitory completed in 1933. Student population in 1932 was 457 male and 462 female students.**



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in the *American Fork Citizen* were similar to this one published in 1927: “Of the

103 babies examined, 27 were normal, five had rickets, 22 had bad tonsils, 12 had other defects, two were underweight and one was overweight.”<sup>20</sup> During the several months leading up to the eighteenth general session of the Utah Legislature, the Relief Society circulated a petition and gathered 25,065 signatures in support of a training school. Their reason was simple, according to a letter attached to the petition: “There are at least 500 feeble-minded persons in Utah who could be treated advantageously at an institution of this nature. One hundred such persons are at the Utah State Mental Hospital.”<sup>21</sup>

The Milford Lions Club, the American Legion Post and the Relief Society were particularly aggressive in collecting signatures; these same groups were already negotiating the purchase of the former Murdock Academy in Beaver for a “nominal sum from the LDS Church, its present owners.”<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere in the state, Dr. Guy S. Richards, president of the American Fork Lions Club, lobbied heavily for a site on the Featherstone Bench outside American Fork City proper. His sales pitch highlighted the water rights already available on the land.<sup>23</sup>

News stories from the *Salt Lake Telegram* noted endorsements for a training school from local, city and district federations of women’s clubs, the King’s Daughters and the state Veterans of Foreign Wars, among others. T.B. Beatty, secretary of the Utah State Board of Health, urged the Women’s Legislative Council to support the establishment of such a school.<sup>24</sup>

The state legislature was receptive but stalled in its decision. Money was tight. Governor George H. Dern cited the failing economy and the distaste of adding to the taxes of the overburdened property owner. The petition, however, won him over, and he urged lawmakers at the eighteenth legisla-

<sup>20</sup> *American Fork Citizen*, October 16, 1927.

<sup>21</sup> *Salt Lake Telegram*, December 23, 1928.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> George F. Shelley, *Early History of American Fork* (American Fork City, 1945), 83.

<sup>24</sup> *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 31, 1929.

tive general session to fund at least a feasibility study.<sup>25</sup> The legislature responded and went one step further by approving an act to create the institution. Relief Society President Louise Robison “thanked the Utah sisters for their help [and] Had it not been for the Relief Society’s efforts, this piece of work could not have been accomplished.”<sup>26</sup>

The act established a commission that sent Governor Dern and Dr. D.A. Skeen, of Salt Lake City, on exploratory trips to Massachusetts, New York, Michigan, and Vermont. A most notable visit was with Charles S. Little, long-time Superintendent of the Letchworth School for the Feeble-minded in New York. Letchworth was a sprawling two thousand acres of isolated farm country on the west side of the Hudson River. The institution was a village set up to keep feeble-minded men and women “happy and society protected.”<sup>27</sup> Letchworth was home to people characterized similarly to Maria, “a low grade child” of a feeble-minded family and without hope for reproducing but more of the same, and Sammie, who had a “very low grade of intelligence,” suited for an institution that also spared him his degenerate family.<sup>28</sup>

Little was a protégé of Alexander Johnson, Superintendent of the Indiana School for the Feeble-Minded who is credited with the farming colonies that most state institutions later incorporated. The farm program offered “permanent and profitable industries for the trained imbeciles and morons” and kept them “useful, happy and innocent, as long as they lived.” Johnson’s articles in the socially progressive *Survey* magazine include black-and-white illustrations of “idiots piling brush” and “the girls” pitching in by cooking and canning “feeble-minded kraut,” which was famous in the restaurants outside the institution. The “morons, imbeciles and idiots” cut wood, stacked hay and made bricks.<sup>29</sup>

Dern reported favorably at a special legislative session, particularly about the institutions in Massachusetts and New York. The Letchworth style of colonized living appealed to them. He asked the legislature to appoint a commission to help in site selection based on the advice of a person familiar with such a project to “eliminate costly mistakes that might perpetually hamper the institution.”<sup>30</sup> The legislature approved funds to hire Daniel H. Calder, a practicing psychiatrist from Los Angeles and former Superintendent of the Utah State Hospital (1905–1916). A resolution to permit the use of inmate labor on state projects passed during the same

<sup>25</sup> Skeen, “State Care of the Feeble-minded in Utah,” 26.

<sup>26</sup> Jill Mulvay Deer, Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant-The Story of the Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1992), 265.

<sup>27</sup> Charles S. Little, “Letchworth Village: The Newest State Institution for the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic,” *Survey*, 28 (March 2, 1912).

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth A. Irwin, “Fragments of Humanity, *Survey*, 28 (March 2, 1912): 1843.

<sup>29</sup> Alexander Johnson, “Mixed Crops: Some More Adventures Among the Feeble-Minded,” *Survey* 49 (January 1, 1923): 443.

<sup>30</sup> Utah, *Laws of the State Passed at the Special Session of the Eighteenth Legislature, 1930*, xxiv.



session based on Dern's reasoning that inmate labor could be of "important therapeutic, reformatory and educative value" and could save money compared to contracted labor to fulfill state authorized projects.<sup>31</sup> An estimated \$300,000 was appropriated from \$1,150,000 in a state bond for various projects in the building program. Of the sites surveyed, land in American Fork was chosen and its owners—the state school district—were paid \$120,000. The \$180,000 balance was allocated to construction.<sup>32</sup>

***Cannery Department at the USTS, 1930s. Students learned to can and bottle fruits and vegetables grown on the Training School farm. Some canned items included sauerkraut, cherries, tomatoes, prunes, and plums.***

American Fork celebrated. Mayor Jacob LeRoy Greenwood lit a bonfire and city residents set off firecrackers in anticipation of the jobs construction and future employment would bring to the financially depressed county.<sup>33</sup> According to newspaper accounts, a large part of the Utah County workforce worked on the new facility during the eight months of construction (January 16, 1931, to August 1, 1931). Hundreds applied for the forty staff positions available and selections were announced on the front page of the *American Fork Citizen*.<sup>34</sup> Dr. B.O. Whitten took leave from his school in South Carolina to organize the school's opening.

In the summer of 1931, the Superintendent of the Mississippi School and Colony for the Feeble-Minded, Dr. Hubert H. Ramsay, called selective sterilization an ally to the parole system of an institution treating the

<sup>31</sup> Utah, "Message of Governor George H. Dern," in *Laws of the State Passed at the Special Session of the Eighteenth Legislature*, 1930, xxiv.

<sup>32</sup> Utah, *Laws of the State Passed at the Special Session of the Eighteenth Legislature*, 1930, p. 16.

<sup>33</sup> *American Fork Citizen*, December 30, 1930.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, September 4, 1931.

feeble-minded and others.<sup>35</sup> Ramsay's statement, made as part of his presidential address to the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded, came at the eve of his departure from Mississippi to a new position as Superintendent of the Utah State Training School. His choice in Utah, based on the Association's recommendations, furthered the westward movement of institutions funded by state dollars.

Hubert H. Ramsay was born December 11, 1878, in Vancleave, Mississippi. He received his Doctor of Medicine from the University of Tennessee in 1903 and practiced general medicine until 1920, at which time he was elected state health officer. In 1922 Ramsay returned to Mississippi to become the first superintendent of the state school for the feeble-minded in Ellisville.<sup>36</sup>

A gravel road off a two-lane stretch that wound through American Fork provided the single access to the Utah State Training School when it opened in October 5, 1931. Gravel pits and solid stretches of undeveloped land bordered the 486-acre parcel. Within a week the first 180 students were admitted to the school. Ramsay wanted the school to have a home-like atmosphere amidst the isolation for the *children* tended by staff that would assume "the loving kindness and parental care which every child craves" to compensate for the sad experience of separation from the family.<sup>37</sup> Prospective residents included an eleven-year-old who though "very talkative" gave mostly "irrelevant responses," and a "rather quiet and slow" sixteen-year-old "facile type defective female" who would benefit from the "guidance and proper care and training" USTS offered. A highly nervous child, found to have "slight hydrocephaly," would have to wait until placement with "a type of quiet children rather than to live in a dormitory with all types of noisy and disturbed ones."<sup>38</sup>

Ramsay dedicated much of his time to residents and, subsequently, delegated many of the desk jobs to Assistant Superintendent Mark K. Allen. Ramsay discouraged off site holidays and vacations among staff in deference to the residents.<sup>39</sup> He and his wife Florence lived on site in accordance to state law that required his constant attention to promote the best interests of the institution.<sup>40</sup>

Ramsay and Allen spent weekends screening applicants and counseling parents, who made application for a dependent. An important part of the

<sup>35</sup> James W. Trent, Jr., *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 176.

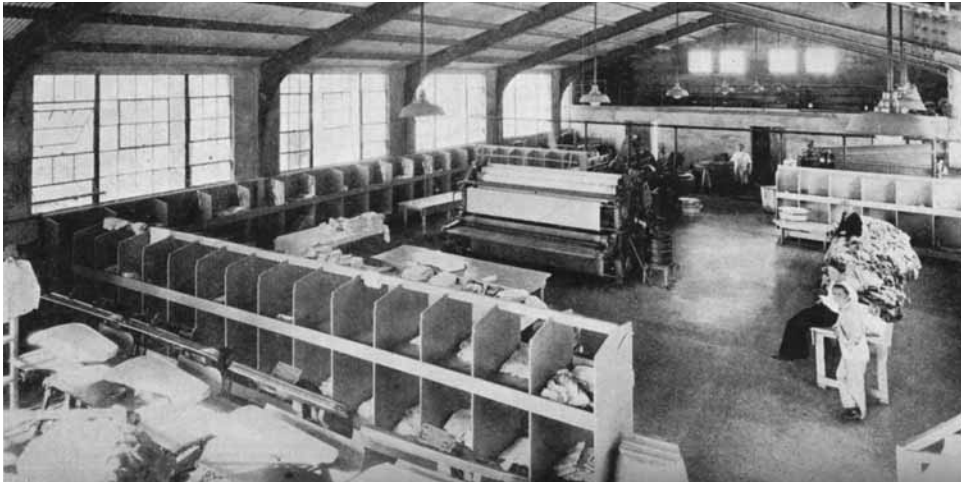
<sup>36</sup> "News Notes," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 58 (November/December 1955): 882.

<sup>37</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *First Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Utah State Training School*, June 30, 1932, 101.

<sup>38</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *First Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Utah State Training School to the Governor and Legislature for the Biennium Ending 1938*, 10-13.

<sup>39</sup> *Golden Jubilee Utah State Training School, 1931-1981: 50 Years of Caring*, (American Fork: Utah State Training School, 1981), 2.

<sup>40</sup> Utah, *Laws of the State of Utah Passed at the Regular Session of the Twenty-Fourth Legislative Session*, 1941, 169.



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application included a physician's affidavit certifying deficiency in mental ability and a fit subject for the school.<sup>41</sup> The students were separated into categories based on intelligence and placed with peers of similar IQ and "speed" of learning. Utah Training School staff taught the boys about farming and commercial trades, such as shoemaking; girls took on domestic chores including laundry, cooking and cleaning. The training school farm yielded vegetables and fruit and a dairy farm was added in 1936 to provide milk and meat. There was a shop for repairing shoes, a shop for manufacturing brooms, and a sewing department for making and mending residents' clothes.

***Interior of laundry at the Training School. Laundry provided 2,600 lbs of well-laundered items daily.***

Students lived in two segregated eighty-eight-bed dormitories under the supervision of matrons. For recreation, there was horseback riding from the onsite stables and general activities confined primarily to the training school grounds.

Release into the community was projected following an average three to six years of training. Visits home were limited to two weeks to three months during the summer months for residents from stable homes and from one week to ten days for residents from homes of "more or less irresponsible parents."<sup>42</sup> Ramsay and his governing Board of Trustees held firmly to the vision of returning students to the community on a self-supporting basis. Sterilization of the men and women was mandatory prior to release.

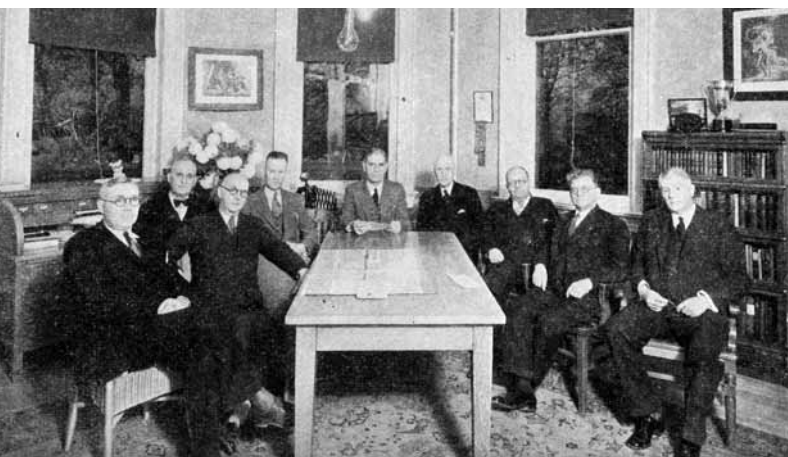
A separate building for a school was added in 1938 under the federal Works Project Administration (WPA) building program; up until that time all teaching had been held in storerooms, the service building or "corners of the present dormitories."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Golden Jubilee Utah State Training School," 2.

<sup>42</sup> Skeen, "State Care of the Feeble-minded in Utah," 84.

<sup>43</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *Fourth Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Utah State Training School, for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1938*, 10.





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*Pictured here old and new members of the Utah State Board of Insanity, 1933. L to R: N. C. Hicks, Iver Ajax, Dr. F. W. Taylor, A. E. Christensen, Gov. George H. Dern, Gov. Henry H. Blood, Julius C. Andersen, Charles C. Stain, Supt. Frederick Dunn, M.D.*

Although the Utah institution was chartered to admit the trainable as well as those “whose defects prevent them from properly taking care of themselves” (custodial care patients) space at USTS was reserved for the higher functioning young adults who could be “trained and socialized, and then sterilized, to return to their respective communities where under proper supervision, they may function as normally as possible and be assets rather than liabilities.”<sup>44</sup> Only twenty-nine patients were ever transferred from the State Hospital to the Training School. Ramsay resisted the inclusion of the “helpless, mindless, paralytic and demented cases” because of special feeding, medication and extensive hospital care that placed the greatest burden on the institution, and stated so in his 1942 report to the legislators: “These [custodial care] are the cases who come to the institution to stay,” and from the perspective of time spent at the institution, much more expensive to support.<sup>45</sup>

Goals to train and parole met with limited success; in eleven years of operation (1931–1942), only 464 residents were paroled or discharged.<sup>46</sup> Nearly two hundred Training School residents had been sterilized, although many more had been approved for the procedure. Without a hospital on the grounds, residents were released pending sterilization at a later date or bided their time at USTS awaiting admission to Salt Lake County Hospital.

A twelve-year old girl from southern Utah and without maternal guidance at her home made the one-way trip to USTS in 1935. “My daddy had to find a place for me to stay,” she said during an interview from an apartment she shares with another former USTS resident. “He didn’t know

<sup>44</sup> D.A. Skeen, *Second Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Utah Training School, for the period ending 1934*, 7.

<sup>45</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *Sixth Biennial Report of the Utah State Training School for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1942*, 18.

<sup>46</sup> Hubert H. Ramsey, *Eighth Biennial Report of the Utah State Training School, for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1946*, 5–6.

***Students enjoy the Christmas season with a visit from Santa Claus.***

what to do after my mama died.” She recalls hauling mattresses on her back down three floors from the dormitory to air outside and, once all the beds springs were bare, using wire brushes and buckets of hot water to scrub the wooden floors. She ate her meals, often cold, delivered

on a cart to the dormitory from a centralized kitchen. She tended to two girls – Ethel and Karlin – who needed her help to eat and prepare for bed. “They moved me around a lot,” she said.<sup>47</sup>

Another young girl was admitted to USTS in 1942 on the advice of local school officials. The seven-year-old arrived carrying a suitcase of new clothes her mother had made, and a curly permanent set the night before. A head wash of coal oil to prevent lice ruined the curls, forcing her mother to fight back even harder against the tears. “Mother just grieved to take our sister down there and leave,” said her older sister. “But she had few choices. [She] was uncontrollable. She wouldn’t mind. The public school hadn’t worked out for her.” She eventually learned to read and to sew during her years at USTS. She was twelve when chosen for the role of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, in the Christmas play. “Her hair was dark and long and we thought she made the perfect Mary,” her sister said. USTS seemed an ideal setting for her. “We were always proud to see what [she] could accomplish at the school and she seemed so happy to us.”<sup>48</sup>

Cleo Porritt of Ballard felt the grief and sorrow when conditions forced her to take her eldest daughter to the training school. Linda Kay was born on January 29, 1950, in the small town of Standardville; the baby was two months premature, but did well until high temperatures later that first winter caused her brain to hemorrhage, resulting in profound physical and mental retardation. The intensive care Linda Kay demanded fell to Cleo, who, within three years after her first child, had two more children. For almost six years Cleo bathed her daughter daily in water heated on the stove, and exercised her little girl’s stiff arms and legs. “They wanted me to



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<sup>47</sup> Alice Talbot and Joyce Peterson, interview, Heritage Center, Murray, Utah, July 9, 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Merium Beard, Interview, Heritage Center, Murray, Utah, July 9, 2004.

put her in American Fork [Training School] at the time, but I didn't want to do that," said Cleo. "The doctors would say, 'You should really think about putting her there,' but I didn't believe them. I always thought she would get better." The strain of tending to her oldest made it difficult for Cleo to take care of her other children. "I knew she would be better off and my boys would be better off. I just felt I couldn't do all of the things I needed to do...maybe if she hadn't been my first one, maybe if I had known more or had more help, but that was 50 years ago."<sup>49</sup>

### Utah State Training School Population 1932-1942

	1932	1934	1936	1940	1942
<b>Idiot</b> (custodial)	32	31	103	107	156
<b>Imbecile</b> (custodial)	106	118	254	325	390
<b>Moron</b> (considered trainable)	67	99	99	290	148
<b>Borderline</b> (trainable to educable)					35
<b>Dull</b>					8
<b>Total</b>	205	248	456	722	737

Hard times during the Great Depression, the lack of employment options in the community, and the lucrative business of war combined to avert the training school's goals. Utah men desperate for work took any job they could find leaving few jobs in the types of work the feeble-minded parolees were trained to do. Less than one third of the labor force were able to hold jobs in mining and agriculture, the two industries that had determined Utah's place in the national economy and the latter – farming – the trade available to young men from the training school.<sup>50</sup>

But the worse was yet to come for Utah and the prospects of placing the feeble-minded in farming or domestic trades. Statewide surveys conducted during April 1934 revealed the fact that Utah was experiencing the worst known water shortage in its history, and when the drought persisted into the summer months, the entire state was designated an emergency drought area.<sup>51</sup>

Similarly, feeble-minded girls trained at the school in domestic labor had to compete with female applicants trained under the Federal Experimental School-Camp for Unemployed Women, which opened in July 1934 in Ogden Canyon. According to the Utah Emergency Relief Administration's report: "The general purposes of the School-Camp were to provide opportunity for unemployed girls between the ages of 18 and 25 years of age to

<sup>49</sup> Lezlee E. Whiting, *Uintah Basin Standard*, October 9, 2001, and the Mental Retardation Association of Utah (MRAU) newsletter, Spring 2002. The level of intelligence was identified by the terms idiot (I. Q. of 0-20); imbecile (I. Q. of 21-50); borderline (I. Q. of 71-80); dull (I. Q. of 90-110); and superior (I. Q. of 111 and above).

<sup>50</sup> Between 1929 and 1933 Utah's gross farm income fell nearly 60 percent, from \$69 million to \$30 million. Farmers suffered from the miserably low prices they received for their products, and it made little difference what they grew or raised; they were considered lucky to sell at the cost of production.

<sup>51</sup> *Utah Emergency Relief Administration: Ten-Month Report (January to October 1934, inclusive)* Compiled by the Division of Research and Statistics, 1935, 47.

better qualify themselves for employment, especially in households, and at the same time to build up their morale in wholesome, healthful surroundings.”<sup>52</sup> The School-Camp program, one of twenty-eight such programs through out the United States, included courses in meal-planning, leisure-time activities, personal hygiene, home hygiene and childcare.<sup>53</sup>



REPORT OF THE STATE BOARD OF INSANITY, 1932

The increasing number of placements identified indirectly through public welfare programs added to the USTS rolls. The Social Service Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration conducted detailed surveys in many sections of the state to determine rehabilitation needs, which “left little chance for a feeble-minded or defective child to escape notice.”<sup>54</sup> Desperate families could transfer the responsibility of their feeble-minded children to USTS through court order or application.<sup>55</sup> Most families could not or refused to pay the prorated fees charged for their children’s institutional lodging.

***Girls at the Utah State Training School learned how to cook, clean, do laundry, and other skills. Shown here bread being sliced at the school’s bakery. White and whole wheat bread and a variety of bakery items were baked for students at the school.***

Defense related expenditures began to pour into Utah prior to World War II. High on the expenditure list was the construction of Hill Field, now Hill Air Force Base. The lucrative war industry attracted families from out-of-state, some with feeble-minded children. These families hoped to place their children in USTS. The school was called upon “constantly and in practically every instance is compelled to meet the demands thus made upon it,” school superintendent Ramsay reported to state legislators.<sup>56</sup> Assistant School Superintendent Allen wanted limited admissions, at least until the numbers released could catch up to the optimal admission. People admitted by the

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Between 1933 and 1939 only eight states—Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, South and North Dakota, and Idaho—received more federal aid per capita than Utah. Peter S. Briggs and Brian Q. Cannon, *Life and Land: The Farm Security Administration Photographs of Utah, 1936-1941*. (Logan: Nora Eccles Harrison Museum of Art, 1988), 8.

<sup>54</sup> *Utah Emergency Relief Administration: Ten-Month Report*, 62.

<sup>55</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *Sixth Biennial Report of the Utah State Welfare Commission Utah State Training School to the Governor and Legislature, for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1942*, 13-14.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 13.



UTAH STATE DEVELOPMENTAL CENTER, AMERICAN FORK

*Besides learning skills, students participated in various recreational activities on school grounds including horseback riding.*

court, without consulting the superintendent, continued to keep the population of the institution up “in spite of our efforts to prevent it.”<sup>57</sup>

In 1941, a centralized Public Welfare Commission replaced the autonomous USTS Board of Trustees. Ramsay now reported to public officials at offices miles away in Salt Lake City. Ramsay believed that he was losing control of the institution and the institution was becoming less effective in studying and training the feeble-minded. For the school, this change of accountability as well as other conditions was a prelude to the dismal decades ahead. By the mid-1940s, USTS was overcrowded and grossly under-funded, similar to other institutions nationally. The number of students outnumbered the beds (730 children for 630 beds, according to the 1940 biennial report) and the severity of disability continued. In 1942 two buildings were added for the most helpless bedridden patients.<sup>58</sup> Beds were frequently lined up in parallel rows in the dormitory warehouses of large floor space and high ceilings. Food was served from a central kitchen and pulled on large carts to the dormitories. In 1946, twenty-seven children died, all of them younger than age three, due to increasingly poor care and conditions.<sup>59</sup>

Overworked and underpaid staff was lured away from the institution to lucrative jobs in war munitions plants, causing serious deterioration of paid services. People in need of work but with little or no training as well as conscientious objectors were hired in care giving positions; the higher functioning residents assisted on an unpaid basis and volunteers from the Children's Benevolent League of Utah (later known as the Parents' Benevolent League) pitched in to relieve the “heartaches and problems of retardation.”<sup>60</sup>

During the war, buildings fell into disrepair because of war shortages. The end of the war also exacerbated woes at USTS. The institution lost a

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 4.

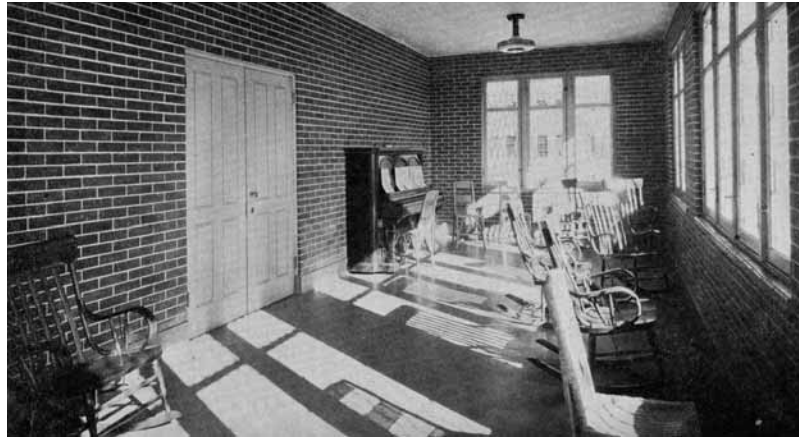
<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>59</sup> Claud Pratt, *Ninth Biennial Report of the Utah Public Health Commission to the Governor and Legislature, for the period ending June 30, 1948*, 2.

<sup>60</sup> *Golden Jubilee, Utah Training School*, 28, 36, and 103.



***Sun Room in the Dunn Building provided a warm cozy place for students.***



REPORT OF THE STATE BOARD OF INSANITY, 1933

fifteen-man unit of conscientious objectors who, during the war, had opted for public service at USTS rather than serve in the military. No money was appropriated to pay the fifteen-dollar per month differential in the salary paid the conscientious objectors and the salary of the regular employees needed to replace them.<sup>61</sup> Recruiting new staff was difficult and close to impossible due to low pay and trying work conditions. Limited and inadequately trained staff often hindered attempts to do more than custodial care—feed, bathe and dress—leaving scant time for training, education and social interaction. Poor unimproved roads to the school added to low employee morale at the school.<sup>62</sup>

By the late 1940s, nearly one-third of the total USTS population was under ten years of age. The number of children with epilepsy admitted was approaching nearly one-sixth of the USTS population. Ramsay requested additional funds to build two segregated dormitories “for their own [epileptic children] protection, as well as withdrawing them from the uncomplicated mental defective.”<sup>63</sup> The money was never realized. The Public Health Commission was at a loss to the growing number of residents. “There seems to be no way to end the train of admissions. The pleadings of parents, relatives, and friends continue from day to day and week to week.”<sup>64</sup> Ramsay appealed to civic and academic groups and hosted on-site visits to raise funds through success stories of the residents. Senators and representatives traveling from Capitol Hill in Salt Lake City to The Hill (nickname for the training school) for “Legislator’s Day” at USTS praised the programs but not the superintendent. Ramsay’s administrative practices came under investigation and “conditions for a satisfactory admin-

<sup>61</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *Eighth Biennial Report of the Utah State Welfare Commission of the Utah State Training School to the Governor and Legislature for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1946*, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Sophus Bertelson, *Sixth Biennial Report of the Utah State Welfare Commission of the Utah State Training School to the Governor and Legislature for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1942*, 1.

<sup>63</sup> Utah State Welfare Commission, “Aims, Objectives and Needs of the Utah State Training School, as presented to the Special Legislative Survey Committee on Education, 1940,” 7.

<sup>64</sup> Claud Pratt, *Ninth Biennial Report of the Utah Public Health Commission to the Governor and Legislature, for the period ending June 30, 1950*, 3.

istration of this State Institution into the future” had yet to be achieved, according to a Commission report.<sup>65</sup>

Ramsay, receiving inadequate support from the legislature, took state retirement in July 1950 to accept a comparable position at Nampa State School in Idaho. To the end of his tenure, Ramsay advocated sterilization and research into preventive medicine and refused to side with emerging fundamentalist religious faith that held human life as an act of the Divine. Prevention and control are the basis of the “great humanitarian and Christian principles are involved in our work,” he wrote in his final report to the Public Welfare Commission. “So long as we consider mental deficiency an act of God, we shall have more and more of it.”<sup>66</sup>

In Ramsay’s farewell address at his going away party given by the Parents’ Benevolent League he stated that he never wanted bigger institutions and held to the premise of training, sterilization and parole: “We must learn at once and for all that no state can afford an institution large enough to house all the defective population.”<sup>67</sup> Ramsay also acknowledged the need for empathy: “Our defectives are the children of our fellow citizens, of both low and high estate. The grief and sorrow is theirs, and this we must share in the full performance of our duty.”<sup>68</sup>

Ramsay died of a coronary occlusion on his way home from work on December 5, 1955. He was six days short of his seventy-seventh birthday. Members from the original USTS Board of Trustees eulogized Ramsay at his funeral held in American Fork, noting in regret the last few years when their different paths deprived them “of that intimate association with him which we enjoyed for so many years.” They recalled how they were “impressed at once by his appearance, his genial and outgoing personality, his friendly attitude, his dignified poise and his kindly unassuming manner” and how, over the years, Ramsay was embraced as a “teacher of rare insight and ability, and was thus prepared and able to understand the physical, mental and special training needs of his pupils.”<sup>69</sup> Ramsay and his wife Florence are buried in American Fork cemetery.

Nationally, great strides were made during the last few years of Ramsay’s life. The Association of Friends and Parents of the Mentally Retarded, now The Arc of the United States, was organized in 1952 on a grassroots level for parents demanding options for their children. Early efforts focused on education and the national group won a partial victory in 1954 through *Brown v. Board of Education*. Although the ruling for equal access to education was not related directly to people with disabilities, it did provide an

<sup>65</sup> Hubert H. Ramsay, *Tenth Biennial Report of the Utah Public Health Commission to the Governor and Legislature, for the period ending June 30, 1950*, 3.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>69</sup> *American Fork Citizen*, December 12, 1955.

***Utah State Developmental Center  
play and program at amphitheater  
on Utah State Training School  
campus.***

opening into federal legislation that recognizes individual rights, regardless of gender, religion, race or disability.

The Education for All Handicapped Children (also known as Public Law 94-142), passed in 1975, demonstrated a concerted



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effort to boost public education for people with disabilities. After two decades, however, it was clear that EHA was short of its goal to fully integrate the concept of equal education. A 1994 report to Congress showed, among other findings, that one million of the estimated eight million school-aged children with disabilities were excluded from the public school system, and those in the public school classroom were often viewed as the token for educational access. In response, Congress approved a series of legislative initiatives starting in 1994 aimed at ensuring equal educational opportunity for all children with disabilities. The subsequent Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1997—and reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in March 1999—established six principles to guide the education of children with disabilities, including free, appropriate public education for all disabled children, individualized education programs, and education in an environment least restrictive for each child.

President John F. Kennedy in his message on mental illness and mental retardation before Congress in 1963 recommended federal funding to provide better services for people with these disabilities. Five years later, Congress authorized Title XIX funds (Medicaid) through the Social Security Act for matching grants to states to assist low-income families, the elderly, qualified pregnant minors and people with disabilities. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 forbids federal funding to programs found to discriminate against anyone, including for reasons of disability. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 established a “comprehensive mandate” to eliminate discrimination against individuals with disabilities.

What does the past tell us about the future of people with disabilities in Utah? The irony of Utah’s history is its pioneer ethic of individual responsibility and subsequent proposals to keep families intact. Early concepts of

social insurance for families caring for the elderly and disabled, however, did not find support among decision makers. Their backs turned on community based options for care in deference to the national trend favoring institutional settings, although at a date later than most other states.

Utah has continued along a gradual, conservative course. Through the mid 1960s public schools did not admit children with IQs of 50 or less. A decade later a legislative audit found severe and negligent conditions at USTS due to operational and management flaws. The school faced the loss of Medicaid funding unless it met rigorous licensing standards.<sup>70</sup>

The renamed State Developmental School has faced legal challenges as well. The "Lisa P." lawsuit initiated by the Legal School and People with Disabilities and The Arc of Utah on behalf of plaintiff Lisa Parrant, Matthew W., his guardians and next friends Melody W. and James W., and other residents of the Utah State Developmental School on December 21, 1989, claimed conditions at the training school did not meet minimum standards as set in federal law. The suit sought appropriate less restrictive placements for five hundred residents of the training school, with steps to assure placements in settings consistent with their needs. Since the settlement of the lawsuit in 1993, more than eight hundred people have moved from the school.<sup>71</sup>

Nationally, 149,982 people lived in public institutions in 1976; their numbers decreased to 47,374 in 2000. In 1991, New Hampshire became the first state to close its public institutions. Other states soon followed. There remain, however, fourteen states, including Utah, that have not closed at least one public institution for the mentally retarded.<sup>72</sup> Today, the Utah State Developmental Center, as it is now called, is classified as an Intermediate Care Facility for the Mentally Retarded and certified for 390 beds by Medicare/Medicaid. The 232 residents there now nearly match the census fifteen months after USTS opened its doors in October 1931. Admission is on a temporary basis or longer-term, depending on state interpretation of least restrictive environment for the individual. The dormitories are long gone, and the former nursery, once a maze of cribs for the infants and toddlers, is now used as a cottage industry and gift shop. The school's farm has been leased, and the grounds are well manicured. Residents live in assisted living style apartments with entertainment centers and equipped with full kitchens, single and double bedrooms and private baths. Superintendent Karen Clarke anticipates that the Center will remain

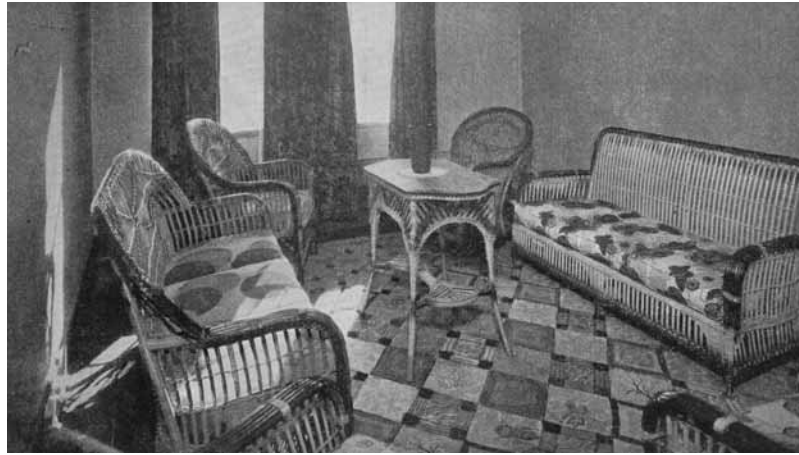
<sup>70</sup> Report of Task Force to the Utah Council for Handicapped and Developmentally Disabled Persons, "Institutional Options and Community Alternatives for Providing Services to Developmentally Disabled Persons," December 1977.

<sup>71</sup> *Parrant, et. al., on behalf of themselves and all others similarly situated v. Stewart, et. al.* Third Judicial District of Salt Lake City, Case No. 890907653CV, Judge Timothy R. Hansen, July 31, 1993.

<sup>72</sup> Coleman Institute for Cognitive Disabilities and Department of Psychiatry, University of Colorado, "State of the States in Developmental Disabilities: 2002 Study Summary", at [www.cusys.edu/colemaninstitute/stateofthestates/home.htm](http://www.cusys.edu/colemaninstitute/stateofthestates/home.htm) accessed in January 2004.

***Visitors room in the Dunn Building  
where parents and friends social-  
ized with students.***

an option for people with developmental disability, and there is strong support among families that prefer the institutional setting for the care and protection of their children.



REPORT OF THE STATE BOARD OF INSANITY, 1932

A thousand day economic plan of the Utah Department of Human Services, released in August 2002, supports an increase in state-funded services for people with disabilities with an emphasis on programs that foster individual development and self-direction.<sup>73</sup> There continues to be one major problem: insufficient funds. Often there are as many as a thousand people or more with disabilities that are on state waiting lists for Medicaid services.

Philosophically, laws and mandated services cannot guarantee dignity, freedom, friendships, choice, self-direction, or value in the eyes of the larger society. Attitudes and perceptions often create the greatest obstacles to equality and inclusion. The problem is not about the disability; rather the problem is society's beliefs about disability.

Alice, who turned eighty-one in 2004, left USTS in 1982 to live temporarily in a smaller group setting while awaiting permanent housing. For the past several years she has shared an apartment with her friend Joyce. Medicaid matching funds once spent on their institutional care now cover the basic needs of living on the outside. "I lived there a long time," Alice said. "Now I am out."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Governor Michael Leavitt, "1000-Day Economic Plan for the Utah Department of Human Services" August 2002.

<sup>74</sup> Alice Talbot and Joyce Peterson, Interview. Heritage Center, Murray, Utah, July 9, 2004.



## BOOK REVIEWS

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*The Collected Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lectures* Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University Libraries. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. ix + 283 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.)

BELOVED MORMON HISTORIAN Leonard J. Arrington donated his papers to Utah State University and proposed that the university initiate an annual lecture on Mormon history. The university responded by naming a lecture series for him and asking Arrington to deliver the first one. The resulting lectures, from 1995 through 2004, are collected in this attractively produced and illustrated volume. The authors form a constellation of scholars: Arrington, Richard Lyman Bushman, Richard E. Bennett, Howard R. Lamar, Claudia L. Bushman, Kenneth W. Godfrey, Jan Shipps, Donald Worster, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, and F. Ross Peterson.

Perhaps least compelling in the collection is Arrington's own lecture on the need for Latter-day Saints to combine faith with intellect. He presents five examples: Joseph Smith, Eliza Snow, Brigham Young, George Q. Cannon, and Emmeline Wells. Arrington stretches his thesis particularly for Smith and Young and, in the end, reveals more about himself than his subjects.

Richard Bushman lucidly explains Joseph Smith's concept of the City of Zion as a place of gathering, an organized living space, and a spiritual center. He compares Smith's plan with New England villages, Philadelphia, and particularly Chicago, the latter also a city of gathering, but for commercial rather than religious purposes.

Richard Bennett considers how members of the original 1847 Mormon exodus understood their purpose. Examining their experience in Zion's Camp in 1834, Brigham Young's January 1847 revelation, and the sermons preached along the way, Bennett shows they believed that they were on a divine mission which demanded obedience for success.

Howard Lamar reviews the Mormons' abiding interest in theater. He points out, among other things, that several Utah politicians were also actors, that the theater indicates joy in everyday life, and that women on stage were respected.

Claudia Bushman gently follows the footsteps of Elizabeth Kane, whose husband Thomas had interceded for the Mormons on several occasions, notably during the Utah War. The Kanes came to Utah in 1872-73 for Thomas's health and Elizabeth visited several Mormon homes while traveling to St. George. Moving from disgust for polygamy to respect for the women she met, Elizabeth's account provides insights into Mormon lives of that period.

Kenneth Godfrey in what is the lengthiest paper of the collection emphasizes the critical centrality of the temple during the Nauvoo period. Godfrey's lecture, however, would have benefited from fewer discursions into peripheral subjects and a less apologetic style.

Jan Shipps amusingly recounts her personal introduction to Mormon ways and then elucidates verbal and cultural identifiers of being a Latter-day Saint. She shows that some serve as marks of faithfulness for outsiders and others for insiders and that all have changed over time.

Donald Worster, in a fascinating lecture, describes the Mormon influence on the views of John Wesley Powell and John Muir regarding the ideal relationship between humans and the environment in the West. The surprising ideas of both men are mostly unknown today, but still ring with relevance.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, as in her other works, points us to new ways to consider history, this time when memory and fact conflict. Her study of the Thatcher family letters from the 1870s give a very different picture of the trials endured by women in polygamy than Elizabeth Kane's account described by Claudia Bushman.

Ross Peterson's research into family traditions and historical documents reveals the sad story of his grandparents' disastrous marriage. He raises questions about the disruption of the post-Manifesto period on the lives of believers and about writing history even when it is not uplifting.

I recommend this volume not only for the broad variety of subjects covered, but also for the fresh and uncommon ways the authors look at Mormon history.

POLLY AIRD  
Seattle, Washington

*Art of the Warriors: Rock Art of the American Plains* By James D. Keyser.

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. 128 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.)

BECAUSE PLAINS ROCK ART is second in North America only to Southwest rock art in terms of content diversity, complexity, and richness, it is fitting that it be recognized in a large format, beautifully illustrated and enlightening book. Rock art of the Plains spans a long time period, from about five thousand years ago to 1924 when the last petroglyph was created on the Plains. Rather than a strict scientific treatment of the subject, the book is a series of essays.

Chapter One, "The North American Plains," introduces the study of Plains rock art in the essay "Sahkomaupee and the Big Dogs." Although a great variety of Plains rock art was made over the years the great majority was produced by warriors. Some may judge the term "warriors" to be politically incorrect as it has violent connotations. However, Keyser describes warriors as "men of courage and skill who sought powerful spirit helpers to assist them in their lives and who paid homage to those spirits by recording their deeds performed in fighting and horse raiding" a broader but perhaps more romanticized definition (10-11).

"The Land of the Warrior Artists—"Big Sky Country"" provides the geographic setting for the book and the rock art. The Great Plains covers a large area of the

United States, almost the central third of the country, which stretches from Canada to Texas.

“People of the Plains” sets Plains cultures in time, and describes common cultural traits of both hunters and farmers. The Plains cultures that exploited the vast herds of bison are well known. However, the description of village farmers may be new information to some readers.

“Plains Indian Rock Art,” chapter two, covers classifying and dating warrior art, and the traditions of Plains rock art. The concept of describing rock art traditions instead of styles is intriguing. A “tradition” in archaeology is an organizational unit, which describes a set of shared traits that include subject matter, motifs, and relationships within the composition, techniques of production, and occasionally the greater landscape setting of the site. Sixteen traditions are described, with names as rich as the art: Dinwoody, Hoofprint Tradition, Ceremonial Tradition, and Robe and Ledger Art Tradition. It should be clarified that the author includes in this study images on tanned hide and paper executed during the historic period.

The third chapter is “Understanding Plains Rock Art.” The first essay, “Ethnography and the Direct Historical Approach,” reminds us that the people of the Plains did not disappear. Rock art was a living tradition for many groups through the historic period. A compelling aspect of the book is the inclusion of historical records and rich first person accounts of Plains people discussing their art in their own words.

The final essay, “Plains Warrior Art: a Humanistic Archaeology,” reminds us that archaeology is, after all, the study of past humankind. Keyser believes that studying Plains rock art, more than any other artifact, reveals much to us about “how its makers had thought, worshipped, conducted their rituals or ceremonies, or felt about their place in the world . . . rock art is one of the few artifacts whose entire form, structure, and location depends solely on the mind of its maker following the organizational rules of his culture” (110-11).

Finally, a book written for the public and highlighting with quality photographs the rich, expansive traditions of Plains rock art. This book deserves a place in the library of every rock art aficionado as well as those willing to disturb preconceived notions of stereotypical Plains Indians.

PAM MILLER  
College of Eastern Utah Prehistoric Museum

*Custer and Me: A Historian's Memoir* By Robert Utley. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xii +253 pp. Cloth, \$37.95.)

UNLIKE MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES, historian Robert Utley is known to thousands of people. In airports all around the nation, people stopped him to inform him that he is “the guy from the History Channel.” The name, the face,

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and the voice of Robert Utley have all become synonymous with the history of the American West and American Indians. Utley's histories jump from the page and demand attention. No person has defined Utley's life like George A. Custer, and with him in mind Utley turned his attention inward. The skill of the novelist and a dogged obsession with evidence combined to form the career of this esteemed historian.

However, a word of caution must be issued to those interested in the influences that shape any historian not just those of Utley's caliber. A historical memoir is usually written by a professional at the end of his/her career and provides a platform to air past grievances and current perceptions of the historical profession. Such a work allows historians to reflect on their career ups and downs, and choices made. Most importantly, the memoir provides a platform to discuss important issues that affected their abilities as professionals whether inside or outside of the academy.

In this work, Robert Utley negotiates all these terrains while showcasing the importance of remaining open to new experiences even if they seem to divert from the professional path. From an early age Utley was fascinated, some may say obsessed, with Custer. Utley's first Custer experience came from Hollywood. Errol Flynn's 1942 portrayal of Custer in *They Died with Their Boots On* launched a career that would span more than five decades and produce some of the seminal works in the history of the American West. Utley's career began on the very field where Custer's ended, at the Little Bighorn. Utley worked for six years as an interpreter for the National Park Service charged with explaining to thousands of visitors the significance of that historic site.

Interpretation beneath the Montana sun was just the start of Utley's National Park Service career. After a stint in the armed forces Utley became a Joint Chiefs of Staff historian and later returned to work as an historian with the Park Service. Working his way through the ranks in places as diverse as Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Washington D.C., Utley honed his historical skills and became an effective advocate for more efficient park management. In his discussions of his Park Service years, Utley provides insight into numerous presidential administrations, including some special insights into Richard M. Nixon and the Watergate affair. Utley also examines the struggles over the interpretation of our national parks. The question of "symbolic ownership" plagued the Little Bighorn Battlefield. Utley has been at the forefront of this debate since it began. As a Park Service administrator, Utley became involved with a group determined to elevate the position of Western history within academic circles. Long desiring to keep one foot in the private sector and the other in the academy, Utley seized the opportunity and helped establish the Western History Association.

Although Utley's memoir is an introspective examination of the state of the profession, particularly the changing dynamics in the fields of American Indian and Western history, this reader found some of his reminisces more self-important

than analytical. One problem with any memoir is self-indulgence, and even an author such as Utley is not immune. However, with such a long and voluminous career, a little authorial excess is forgiven.

TODD LEAHY  
College of Eastern Utah

*Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and the Great Rush for Riches*

By Kenneth N. Owens, Vol. 7 of Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier series. (Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004. 396 pp. \$39.50.)

UTAH LATTER-DAY SAINTS played a visible role in America's mid-nineteenth-century attraction to gold: Sam Brannan was a promoter of the find (for his own reasons) while lesser figures like Henry Bigler and Azariah Smith (both Mormon Battalion veterans) were eyewitnesses at Sutter's Mill on January 24, 1848, when James W. Marshall's earth-shattering discovery was made. Other Latter-day Saints, like Isaac Leigh, Thomas Blackburn, and Zadock Judd, dot the pages of *Gold Rush Saints*. These Mexican War veterans proudly referred to themselves as "battalion boys" (57). As series editor, Will Bagley observes in the book's forward, Kenneth N. Owens "brings his expertise [in California and Western history] to the neglected legacy of the gold rush Saints" (11).

*Gold Rush Saints* begs the question: "Where did Brigham Young initially intend to settle the beleaguered Saints, California or today's Utah?" Owens presents, intentionally or not, a strong argument vis-à-vis correspondence between Young and Brannan, which could lead one to conclude that the Pacific Coast was Brigham's original destination. This seems to challenge later official interpretations that portray Sam Brannan as going to San Francisco on his own initiative. For example, Young wrote Brannan in September 1845, "I wish you together with your. . . paper and ten thousand of the brethren were now in California at the Bay of San Francisco [and] we will meet you there" (32). Acting on these directions, Brannan proceeded to establish a Latter-day Saint community in northern California. He must have been at a loss when, in July 1847, Young told him: "We have no business in San Francisco; the Gentiles will be there pretty soon" (51).

William Glover, who sailed with Sam Brannan on the *Brooklyn*, wrote in his 1884 recollections of the *Brooklyn* colonists' efforts to erect a permanent settlement at San Francisco Bay. Owens describes Glover's recollections as "faith promoting literature" by a man of "religious devotion and sense of mission" (35). It seems clear that Glover and his fellow Mormons believed that they were preparing the way for a future LDS stay in the region.

James S. Brown's 1894 writings observed how "experimentation characterized



the earliest days of placer mining in Northern California" (127). The providential find by Marshall at Coloma, launching the ensuing gold rush, was an historic anomaly. The experiences of most Mormon (and non-Mormon) miners were akin to those of Henry Bigler, who while freelancing, on a day off from working for Sutter/Marshall, "waded the river [but] the water was almost as cold as ice itself." Becoming so "benumbed with cold" he could not light a fire, he was compelled to "dance, run, and jump over the rocks" until his body warmed up (115).

While this volume focuses "primarily" upon the experiences of the California Saints, the editor finds that the narratives "illuminate" the thorny ordeals and opportunities which the gold rush posed for the Mormon colony in the Great Basin. Ambivalence marked the Latter-day Saint role from the outset. Brigham Young feared that the Babylon of the gold fields would prove to be a refuge for the "disaffected and the dissolute" (13). But the battalion boys generally proved him wrong. Sam Brannan is remembered for succumbing to California's allure, while few, if any of Owens's gold rush Saints deserted Young's Zion for the riches and temperate climate of the Pacific shore.

With this volume, Kenneth N. Owens adds his name, with those of Will Bagley, David L. Bigler and Norma Baldwin Ricketts to the most important current historians of the LDS experience in nineteenth-century California.

M. GUY BISHOP  
Woods Cross

*Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith": A History of the Episcopal Church in Utah, 1867-1996* By Frederick Quinn. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004.

xxii + 324 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

ALL TOO FREQUENTLY, detailed chronicles by ecclesiastical historiographers leave the impression that church history is nothing more than recounting who served on various boards and agencies and who made the first motion at congregational meetings. Fortunately, Quinn's narrative belongs to a completely different genre of historical writing. Based on extensive use of primary and secondary sources and organized chronologically around the tenure of Utah's bishops, Quinn provides readers with a comprehensive, candid, insightful, and exceptionally well-written account of the growth and development of the Episcopal Church in Utah. Because of the author's analytical skills and his concerted efforts to place local events into the larger framework of state and national issues, this book will be of interest to a wide range of readers, including religious, social, and regional historians as well as laypeople and clergy from various denominational backgrounds.

Beginning in 1867 with the ministerial career of Daniel S. Tuttle, the first permanent prominent Protestant missionary to settle in Salt Lake City, Quinn traces the impact of a succession of Episcopal bishops on the evolution of a minority denomi-

nation in the context of LDS hegemony. Unlike their Presbyterian and Methodist counterparts in Utah, Episcopalians eschewed adversarial relationships with Latter-day Saints, preferring to acknowledge theological differences while concurrently seeking avenues of cooperation with the dominant religious community.

One of the most appealing features of the narrative is the author's ability to humanize the Episcopal bishops and their co-workers by extensive use of personal correspondence, inter-office reports, and observations of colleagues and parishioners. As a result, rather than appearing as one-dimensional church bureaucrats, the leaders are portrayed as having distinct personalities, unique operating styles, and varying degrees of success in accomplishing their goals. Discussion of their personal problems such as alcoholism, homosexuality, and divorce, enhances rather than diminishes their stature as human beings seeking to fulfill ministries in the midst of real-life situations. Most intriguing to this reviewer were the involvement of Episcopal bishops in controversial social, political, and economic issues and their commitment to improving educational and medical services in Salt Lake City and beyond.

Although the history focuses on the primary role of bishops in shaping church structures, programs, and worship practices, it also describes intercultural ministries to Native Americans and features the contributions of women clergy and laypeople. Accounts of the formation of new congregations in the twentieth century provide valuable information about how Episcopalians organized in communities beyond the confines of Salt Lake City. The narrative concludes with a succinct "summing up" that provides the reader with the author's main conclusions about the history of the Episcopal Church in Utah.

An accomplished writer, Quinn has a knack of capturing the reader's attention with colorful analogies and the use of apt quotations. For example, describing the episcopate of Abiel Leonard, which was bracketed between the more highly visible terms of Daniel S. Tuttle and Franklin Spencer Spalding, Quinn comments that Leonard's role "was like appearing in the batting order between Lou Gehrig and Babe Ruth" (31). Quinn also relates how another bishop presided over long and tedious committee meetings. A colleague recalled, "He had an ass of stone, because he could sit in meetings forever" (221).

Having perused many institutional histories during a forty-year academic career, I can say that this is one of the very few that I have read from cover to cover with sustained interest and considerable profit.

R. DOUGLAS BRACKENRIDGE  
Trinity University  
San Antonio, Texas

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*We Refused to Die: My Time as a Prisoner of War in Bataan and Japan, 1942-1945* By Gene S. Jacobsen, Illustrations by Benjamin Charles Steele.

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. x + 273 pp, Cloth, \$24.95.)

ON THE HEELS of such important works as *Ghost Soldiers*, the book, *We Refused to Die*, by Gene Jacobsen takes the reader on a poignant and deeply personal journey into the horrors of the Bataan Death March. While other March survivors have written of the sufferings endured during World War II, this volume is unusual because the memoirs which inspired this work were created by the author just months after his liberation from Japan in the fall of 1945.

Jacobsen's account covers the entirety of his experience, from the battle for the Bataan Peninsula, through the March and the subsequent three and one-half years of slavery in various prison camps in the Philippines and Japan. Through it all, Jacobsen provides vivid and impressive detail not only about his experiences, but also about those of his fellow prisoners—much of it in quoted dialogue. Jacobsen's intimate portrayal of life and death is both riveting and heartrending. Credit for this fine volume is also extended to the illustrator of the book, fellow prisoner Benjamin Charles Steele, who provides another important view of the ordeal through his artwork.

*We Refused to Die* is an emotionally difficult book to read as it delivers an unvarnished account of man's inhumanity towards man in times of war. Readers of this volume will come away changed by this riveting portrayal of the evils experienced by the prisoners. Jacobson shares profound insights into the daily life endured by the captives. For example, he describes the lengths to which his fellow inmates would go to avoid the slave labor imposed upon them as their bodies moved closer and closer to death. He relates how one prisoner would ask another to inflict a serious injury such as a broken arm, which would render the first disabled and no longer able to labor in the pitiful conditions of the coal mines. The inhumanity of their capturers, the extreme conditions of their captivity, and the daily struggle to hold on to life are all portrayed in penetrating detail.

One powerful perspective shared by the author is that he and many of his associates were convinced that if they survived the war, they would be scorned at home because of their surrender at the beginning of the war. The prisoners came to have this belief in consequence of the incessant indoctrination by their capturers that they were cowards. Of course, in the end, they were appropriately heralded as heroes.

Perhaps the most moving part of Jacobsen's story comes at its conclusion as he extends forgiveness to his vicious tormentors. For Jacobsen, liberation from his horrible ordeal is both of the body and of the mind. He returns home to marry a childhood sweetheart and resumes a life of normalcy, never forgetting that the majority of his fellow sufferers knew no such homecoming. Through this

poignant, piercing account the reader comes to realize that the Bataan Death March soldier epitomizes why the World War II generation of soldiers is remembered as the greatest.

ROBERT C. FREEMAN  
Brigham Young University

*Walking on Sand: The Story of an Immigrant Son and the Forgotten Art of Public Service* By Rocco C. Siciliano with Drew M. Ross. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. xii + 324 pp. Cloth, \$25.00.)

FIRST A DISCLAIMER: in the early pages, the reviewer discovered he has a dotted line kinship to the author. I delivered French bread and dinner rolls to his father's restaurant, The Capri, in downtown Salt Lake City in the early 1950s. I was employed as a delivery boy for a Greek purveyor of pastries, The Liberty Bell Bakery.

An unabashed champion of public service and the public sector workforce, Rocco Siciliano proffers insights, advice and forecasts in *Walking on Sand*. The story of his life's journey is rewarding due in large part to an uplifting theme woven throughout that one person, humble beginnings notwithstanding, can be a profound influence in the epicenters of politics, business, and the arts. Consider Siciliano's experiences: serving as special assistant to President Eisenhower for personnel management at age thirty-one; orchestrating the first White House policy meeting of black civil rights leaders with a president of the United States; serving as under secretary of commerce and as assistant secretary of labor; serving on powerful national and California business, industrial and cultural committees whose actions had resounding impacts on public policy, immigration, political reforms and the advancement of the arts; chairing the construction committee of the world's premier emporium of culture, the J. Paul Getty Center which "played a central role in the evolution of Los Angeles" (249). This volunteer experience was clearly Siciliano's most rewarding, judging by the upbeat tone of the chapter.

No doubt, Siciliano's deliberative, forgiving and judicial style and his keen intellect afforded him exceptional career experiences – paid and unpaid. While personally rewarding, these forays almost always had a silent, underlying benefit to a much larger audience – the public sector.

His studious insights into the overwhelming task of the presidency of the United States and on the nation's immigration trends are particularly thought provoking. They are delivered in a frank, honest, and thorough manner, as is the entire book. Two photo sections provide visual links to the compelling copy.

Born in Salt Lake City the son of Italian immigrants, Siciliano's determination to succeed was shaped by an early-age desire to "fit in," a task exacerbated by his Catholic religious beliefs and his name, neither of which fit the mold of Mormon-rich Utah.

Even though he “felt pressure everywhere around” as a youngster, he forged his interpersonal skills in high school and college in his hometown. At Salt Lake City’s South High School he was prominent, popular, and voted as having “the most brains” (42). While he turned down a scholarship to Stanford University (due to lack of confidence), his confidence soared at the University of Utah where he was elected to five student government positions while getting his political science degree and his commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army via the ROTC route.

That foundation nurtured a fascinating odyssey of family, leadership, presidential appointments, management and public service on a grand scale.

The journey—like the volume—wasn’t all on sand. Most was on rock-solid footings.

MIKE C. KOROLOGOS  
Salt Lake City

## BOOK NOTICES

*Sanpete Scenes: A Guide to Utah’s Heart* By Gary B. Peterson and Lowell C.

Bennion. (Eureka, Ut.: Basin Plateau Press, 2004. 162 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

This delightful, fact-filled, richly illustrated, and highly popular book was first published in 1987. It received an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History and the J.B. Jackson Prize from the Association of American Geographers for the finest work in popular geography in North America in 1989. The 1987 edition was reviewed in the Winter 1989 issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly*. This 2004 edition includes minor corrections to the original seven chapters and a new eighteen-page chapter “Recent Changes in Utah’s Bypassed Heart.”

*Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors*

By Val D. Rust. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004. xiii + 253 pp. \$35.00.)

This book examines the lives of 583 converts to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the formative years 1830 to 1835. These individuals represent about 40 percent of the church’s early membership. The study reveals that most of the early LDS converts were sixth or seventh generation



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Americans; their ancestors were among the first generation of Europeans to live in New England; most of the ancestors lived in the more religiously radical towns of New England; many of their ancestors had been ostracized and expelled from Massachusetts Colony; and a considerable number whipped, mutilated, and hanged for their religious views. Under these circumstances, the author discusses the nature of the radical religious experience in New England and addresses the question of whether or not the radical views of ancestors predisposed their descendents to embrace a new American religion—Mormonism.

*Mormons at the Missouri: Winter Quarters, 1846-1852* By Richard E. Bennett.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xi + 357 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

First published in 1987, *Mormons at the Missouri* is an important study of the Mormon sojourn in Winter Quarters, Nebraska, during the critical six year period following the exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, in the aftermath of the assassination of Joseph Smith, Jr. The establishment of Winter Quarters was a prelude to the extensive Mormon colonization of the Intermountain West beginning in 1847 and demonstrated the leadership that Brigham Young would exert as leader of the Mormon faith. Winter Quarters played a vital role in the Mormon story as the interim headquarters for Mormons from 1846 to 1848 during the period of transition from Illinois to the Great Basin.

Neglected for too long by historians, Winter Quarters, Bennett argues, is essential to understanding the nineteenth century Mormon experience. "Here revelations were proclaimed, apostolic supremacy and succession pronounced and made firm, and a battalion raised amid formidable obstacles and opposing attitudes. At Winter Quarters women exercised the priesthood, new patterns of worship were implemented, and plans for the great trek west were solidified. Polygamy and the law of adoption and other new and barely tested doctrines were practiced in the open. And here faith deepened while apostasy flourished" (6).

The book's twelve chapters examine the abandonment of Nauvoo, the trek across Iowa, the decision to spend the winter of 1846-47 at Winter Quarters, the establishment of the settlement, relations with Indians and Indian agents, preparations for the move west, sickness and death, and other aspects of the economic, social, religious, and community life for the several thousand Mormon emigrants who found refuge in Winter Quarters.

*Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*

By Leonard J. Arrington. (new ed.; Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

xxxix + 534 pp. Paper, \$36.00.)

Since its first appearance nearly a half century ago in 1958, *Great*

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*Basin Kingdom*, Leonard Arrington's magnum opus, has been published in editions by four prestigious academic presses—Harvard University Press, University of Nebraska Press, University of Utah Press, and, the latest, University of Illinois Press. While Arrington's text remains unchanged from earlier editions, the Illinois edition includes an informative introduction by Ronald W. Walker that outlines the influences on Leonard Arrington in writing *Great Basin Kingdom*, the story of its writing and publication, and an assessment of its importance in Utah and Mormon historical writing.

*Bees in America: How the Honey Bee Shaped A Nation* By Tammy Horn.

(Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005. xvi + 333 pp. Cloth, \$27.50.)

The bee is more than a source of beeswax and honey. In her book, Tammy Horn, a beekeeper, shows how bees, since their arrival in America, have affected people, like their impact on native peoples and their use by colonists. Horn's book, among other things, examines how and why Americans, including Mormons, have used the bee and the hive as symbols in various ways throughout the development of our nation.

*Thirty Years Into Yesterday: A History of Archaeology at Grasshopper Pueblo*

By Jefferson Reid and Stephanie Whittlesey. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005.

xx + 268 pp. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$16.95.)

Grasshopper is a five-hundred-room Mogollon pueblo located on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in Arizona. The University of Arizona Archaeological Field School conducted fieldwork at Grasshopper for thirty years, during which time the approach to archaeological research underwent significant changes. In *Thirty Years Into Yesterday*, Jefferson Reid and Stephanie Whittlesey not only try to describe the lives of the prehistoric peoples who inhabited Grasshopper, but also to explain the research conducted and the various theories that sprung from the archaeological findings at Grasshopper during three decades of fieldwork at the site.

*Blanket Weaving in the Southwest* By Joe Ben Wheat, edited by Ann Lane Hedlund.

(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxvi + 442 pp. Cloth, \$75.00.)

This is a book for serious students of weaving in the American Southwest. The volume looks at the three main traditions of woolen weaving: Pueblo, Navajo, and Spanish American. While blankets are the primary focus, other items including breechcloths, sashes, sash belts, serapes, ponchos, ceremonial

kilts, saddle cinches, and other items are included. After essays on the historical background, fibers and yarns, colors, imported fabrics, weaving systems, weave, and design, there are 191 color plates which illustrate a rich variety of woven items from the Southwest.

*Navajo Weaving in the Late Twentieth Century: Kin, Community, and Collectors*

By Ann Lane Hedlund. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. xv + 145 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.)

*Navajo Weaving in the Late Twentieth Century: Kin, Community, and Collectors* showcases the work of sixty native weavers. The seventy-four color plates that are included represent a variety of styles and also differ depending on the region where they were created. Another fifty-four pictures portray the individuals, settings, locations, and scenery that help connect the reader to the Navajo weaving tradition. Ann Lane Hedlund also provides information on the creations featured in this book and an overview of the history of Navajo weaving and textile collecting.

*Weaving A Legacy: Indian Baskets and the People of Owens Valley, California*

By Sharon E. Dean, Peggy S. Ratcheson, Judith W. Finger, Ellen F. Daus, and Craig D. Bates. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. viii + 182 pp. Cloth, \$55.00; Paper, \$24.95.)

*Weaving A Legacy* describes the lives and basket making of the Paiute and Panamint Shoshone from the Owens Valley of east central California and the changes both have undergone over time. The authors tell their story not only with words, but also with a variety of pictures that, besides showing the area and its inhabitants, show a variety of unique baskets that have been carefully crafted.

*On the Upper Missouri: The Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz, 1851-1852*

Edited and abridged by Carla Kelly. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. xxv + 318 pp. Paper, \$21.95.)

Rudolph Friedrich Kurz was a Swiss artist who was fascinated with American Indians. He came to the United States in order to observe and paint them in his art. To make ends meet, he worked for the American Fur Company at its headquarters at Fort Union on the upper Missouri River near the present-day border of North Dakota and Montana. *On the Upper Missouri* consists

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of selections from Kurz's journal. The Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology acquired a typed manuscript of the Kurz journal for 1846–1852, which was translated into English and then published in 1937. Carla Kelly took the excerpts from the years 1851–1852 from the 1937 translation for publication in this volume. Kelly has retained the most relevant and interesting parts of his journal that illustrate the changes that were happening in the west almost a decade before the Civil War. This book also contains a number of sketches by Kurz, including Fort Berthold, Fort Union, and Indians from various tribes.

*Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site* By Jerome

A. Greene and Douglas D. Scott. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xxvi

+241 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

In 1864 one hundred fifty Indian men, women, and children were killed when more than seven hundred U.S. volunteer troops under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington attacked the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho village located along Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado Territory. In 1998 the United States Congress directed the National Park Service to begin a research program to verify the massacre location. *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site* describes the project to locate the exact site of the massacre. Experts used oral histories, written records, and archaeological fieldwork in an effective interdisciplinary project that identified the site and led to the establishment of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in 2000.

*Bound for Montana: Diaries from the Bozeman Trail* Edited by Susan Badger Doyle.

(Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004. xi + 260 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

*Bound for Montana: Diaries from the Bozeman Trail*, contains seven diaries taken from *Journeys to the Land of Gold: Emigrant Diaries from the Bozeman Trail, 1863-1866*. The diaries were written by a diverse group of people, including a store clerk and a prospector. The diaries are included with their original formatting intact. The editor provides extensive notes with each diary and information about the authors and their fates after they reached their destination.

*A Tenderfoot in Montana: Reminiscences of the Gold Rush, the Vigilantes, and the*

*Birth of Montana Territory* By Francis M. Thompson and edited by Kenneth N. Owens.

(Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004. xi + 292 pp. Paper, \$14.95.)

After deciding not to join the military on the Union side during the Civil War, Frank Thompson set out west. He searched for gold, served on

Montana's first territorial legislature, and befriended both criminals and vigilantes. He was present when vigilantes brought sheriff Henry Plummer to justice. *A Tenderfoot in Montana*, edited by Kenneth M. Owens, is Thompson's own account of his adventures.

*Indian Views of the Custer Fight: A Source Book* Compiled and edited by Richard G. Hardorff. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. 237 pp. Paper, \$14.95.)

The Battle of the Little Bighorn, which ended in the overwhelming defeat of Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer's forces on June 25, 1876, has found its place in American lore as "Custer's Last Stand." It has been the subject of countless paintings, movies, and books. Custer has been hailed as a hero and the Indian side of the story has often been sadly neglected. *Indian Views of the Custer Fight* is a collection of primary sources, and the third installment in a series centered on Indian testimony about the battle that took place at Greasy Grass. It includes first-hand accounts of the battle given by Indians such as Crazy Horse and it also contains notes by the editor that provide additional information.

*The Custer Reader* Edited by Paul Andrew Hutton. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xiv + 585 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

*The Custer Reader* is a treasure trove of information on George Armstrong Custer. Besides containing essays on Custer written by academics, it also contains a variety of first-person narratives, including some composed by Custer himself. In addition, *The Custer Reader* contains a series of photographic essays, which chronicle George Armstrong Custer's service in the Civil War, his confrontations with Native Americans, and finally, how he has been portrayed since his death.

*Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* By Paul Schullery. (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004. xx + 338 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

Yellowstone National Park was established on March 1, 1872, and since that time has been a focal point of America's evolving conservation ethic. Paul Schullery, the author of *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness*, knows Yellowstone intimately. His book is an insightful and sensitive account that outlines the history of a number of conservation issues in the park. It notes the changes Yellowstone has undergone over time, highlighting that the park is ever changing, that discoveries are always being made there, from the change in animal populations to the discovery of new enzymes and natural wonders.



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*Chiefs and Generals: Nine Men Who Shaped the American West* Edited by Richard W. Etulain and Glenda Riley. (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2004. xi + 241 pp. Paper, \$17.95.)

*Chiefs and Generals: Nine Men Who Shaped the American West* is the fifth installment in the Notable Westerners series. It is a collection of well-researched essays on both tribal and military leaders. Besides essays on well-known men like George Custer, George Crook, Chief Joseph, and Geronimo, the collection includes essays on less known leaders including Lakota Chief Red Cloud, Apache Chief Victorio, O.O. Howard, Ranald MacKenzie, and Nelson A. Miles. The essays illustrate the complex, often volatile, relationship between Indians and whites especially well.

*The Apache Indians: In Search of the Missing Tribe* By Helge Ingstad, translated by Janine K. Stenehjelm. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xxxix + 188 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

Helge Ingstad studied and practiced law in his native Norway before he grew restless and set off for Canada. He became a self-taught ethnographer, historian, and explorer. In Canada he lived as a trapper for four years with the Chipewyan Indians. They told him about people from their tribe who traveled south and were never heard of again. In 1936 Ingstad arrived near the White Mountain Reservation in Arizona in search of information about the people from the North. He heard stories about the Apaches' northern origins and that another group of Apaches had fled from the reservation to live in Mexico's Sierra Madre Mountains and set off to find them. His account was published in Norway in 1939. This translation of that account includes a preface by his daughter, who notes that her father, born in 1899 and died in 2001, had lived in three centuries.

*Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement*  
By Dennis Banks and Richard Erdoes. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.  
xii + 362 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

*Ojibwa Warrior* chronicles the life of Dennis Banks and traces the emergence of the American Indian Movement (AIM), which was founded in 1968. Some of the major events include the takeover of Alcatraz Island in 1969, the occupation of Mount Rushmore in 1970, the "Trail of Broken Treaties," a march on Washington D.C. that resulted in the temporary takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972, a siege at Wounded Knee in 1973, and other conflicts involving Dennis Banks and other AIM leaders.

*A Vast Amount of Trouble: A History of the Spring Creek Raid* By John W. Davis.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. x + 291 pp. Paper, \$19.95.)

Conflict between cattlemen and sheepmen was a constant in most regions of the American West. One of the most violent episodes occurred on the banks of Spring Creek in north central Wyoming where three sheepmen were murdered in 1909 when cowboys raided their camp. John W. Davis is a lawyer from Wyoming. His book, *A Vast Amount of Trouble: A History of the Spring Creek Raid*, originally published by the University Press of Colorado in 1993, examines the events leading up to the murders, the trial that followed, and the resulting end to Wyoming's violent range wars.

*The Western Pursuit of the American Dream* By Kenneth W. Rendell. (Natick, MA:

Historical Publications, 2004. x + 358 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.)

Kenneth W. Rendell is a dealer in historical documents and letters. This heavily illustrated volume includes examples of artwork, clothing, currency, furs, letters, historical documents, jewelry, musical instruments, vehicles, weapons and other artifacts from a multitude of sources that represent nearly two dozen themes in western history including the fur trade, Santa Fe, Indians, California, the Overland Trail, the Mormons, the California Gold Rush, cowboys, outlaws and lawmen, and the West of the twentieth century.

*The Colonel and the Pacifist: Karl Bendetsen, Perry Saito, and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II* By Klancy Clark de Nevers. (Salt Lake City:

University of Utah Press, 2004. xv + 382 pp. Cloth, \$55.00; Paper, \$21.95.)

In her book, Klancy Clark de Nevers investigates the lives of two men, Karl Bendetsen and Perry Saito and issues of racism and war that were common to both. Bendetsen and Saito were from Aberdeen, Washington, and despite residing in the same hometown, their lives went in opposite directions during World War II. Karl Bendetsen, a colonel in the United States Army, was in charge of the West Coast evacuation of Japanese Americans, and Perry Saito was an evacuee who was incarcerated at the Tule Lake Relocation Camp. In *The Colonel and the Pacifist*, de Nevers brings together the stories of these two men in order to relate both sides of an important and controversial episode in American history.

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*First Sight of the Desert: Discovering the Art of Ella Peacock* By Kathryn J. Abajian.

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. vii + 144 pp. Paper, \$21.95.)

*First Sight of the Desert* tells the story of both Ella Peacock, a Utah artist who died in 1999, and her biographer, Kathryn J. Abajian. Born in Pennsylvania to a well-to-do Germantown family in 1906, Ella studied art and began painting in the 1920s. In 1968 she and her husband bought an adobe house in Spring City built by Danish immigrant Lauritz Larsen a century before. Abajian first met Peacock in Spring City in 1986 and in 1991 began a series of interviews with the artist. Abajian entwines the story of Ella Peacock with that of her own, providing impressionistic biographical sketches of both individuals rather than a detailed, fact filled life story of either. Each of the ten chapters is named after a painting by Ella Peacock—*Mt. Peacock*, *Grandfather's Portrait*, *The Girl in the Red Scarf*, *Out West*, *Lehi Roller Mills*, *The Manti Temple*, *Spring City Chapel*, *Being Demolished*, *The Old Homestead at Pigeon Hollow*—and a reproduction of each painting is printed on the page opposite the first page of the chapter bearing its name. The final chapter and the book itself are named for one of Abajian's favorite paintings, *First Sight of the Desert*, a painting that she first saw on her first meeting with Peacock and now owns.

*Excavating Mormon Pasts: The New Historiography of the Last Half Century*

Edited by Newell G. Bringham and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004. xiv + 442 pp. \$39.95.)

The sixteen chapters in this volume offer an overview of the historiography of Mormonism from 1950 to 2000 by a number of leading Mormon historians. Chapters of special interest to students of Utah history include, Craig L. Foster's, "Mormonism on the Frontier: The Saints of the Great Basin;" M. Guy Bishop's, "Mormonism in Transition, 1890-1945;" Jessie L. Embry's "The LDS Church in the United States since 1945;" along with chapters on Women's history by Todd Compton, polygamy by Martha Sonntag Bradley, Mormon biography by Newell G. Bringham, and Mormon society and culture by Davis Bitton. Other chapters examine Mormon origins in New York and Ohio, the Missouri and Illinois experiences, the growth and internationalization of the Mormon church since 1945, the Community of Christ, and conflict, dissent, and schism in the early church.

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